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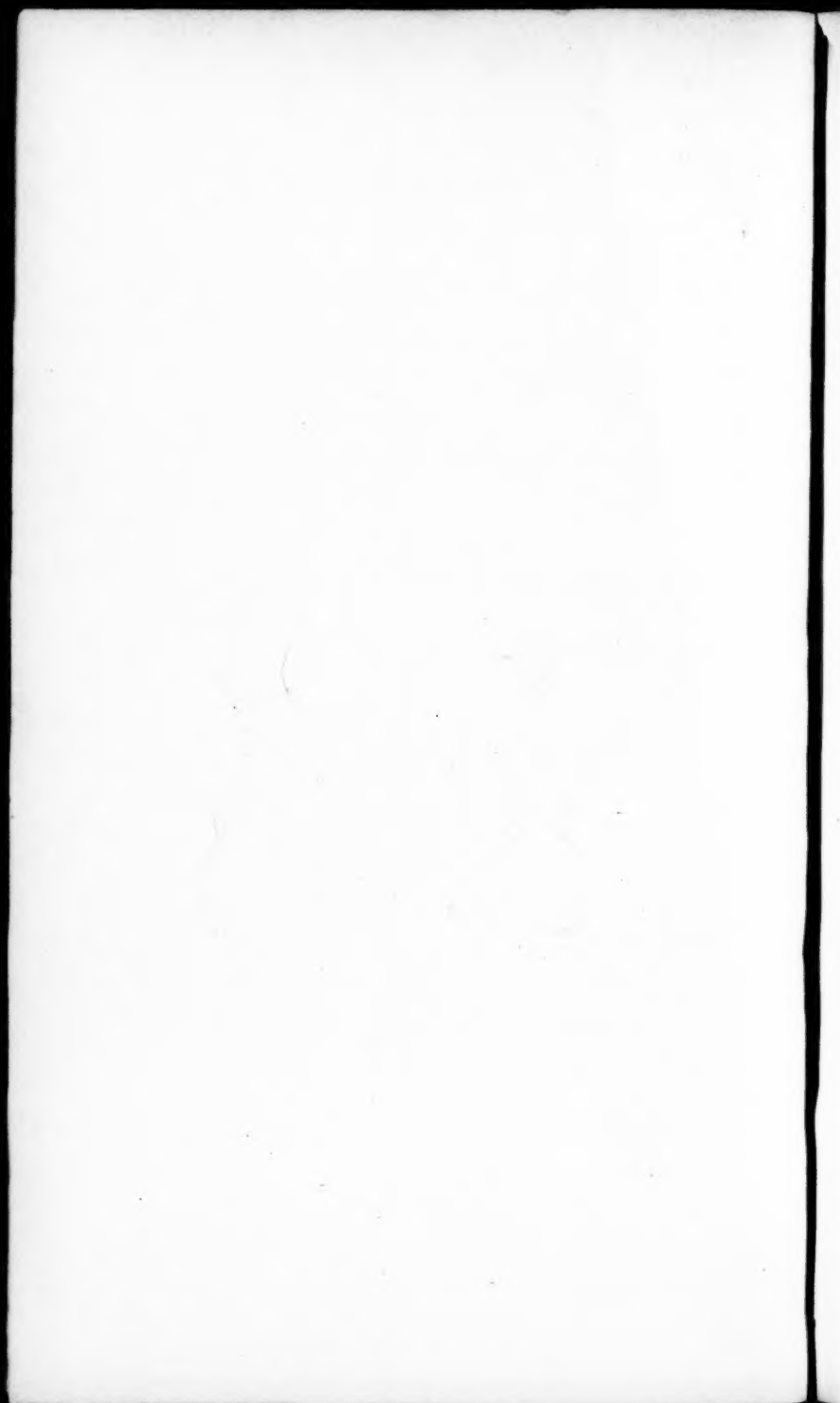
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THE religious horizon is too big with portentous forebodings, not to make the smallest speck that comes to settle on it worthy of attention, as the possible harbinger of a general commotion among the discordant elements with which it is charged; and this observation appears to us preeminently to apply to those tiny publications with which we have headed our article, and which figure under so many dignified and learned names; as if the weight of authority under which they are presented to the world were to make amends for the scantiness of their pages, and the meagre quality of their contents. The main and professed object of most, is the Oxford controversy. Fully and completely impressed as we are, with the immeasurable importance of this most interesting discussion, we must own that our surprise

and disappointment were great, when we saw it generally treated with such shallow logic, and dismissed with such a flippant confidence that the task was done. For it does appear to us to savour somewhat of presumption, to imagine that a course of doctrines, which had long heretofore been held and maintained by those whom we have ever been accustomed to consider as the standard divines of the Anglican Church (to use a favourite and familiar expression of its advocates), which for a season reigned triumphant in her, and has never altogether ceased to hold its ground among some of the more earnest of her followers; which is now revived with a weight of learning and acuteness of research, backed by a most edifying zeal and piety; and which carries conviction throughout her ranks to an extent which threatens almost universal adherence to this winning interpretation of her articles; should be so easily abashed and refuted, and so readily disposed of. We have conceived too high an opinion of the intrinsic merit of these doctrines, even defective as they are, and have formed too favourable a judgment of the superior virtues of their professors, to believe that either the one or the other are to be so summarily mastered.

Yet it is not in this sense that we mean to deal with these publications. We have too abundant occupation in our own, to think of labouring in another's vineyard; and while we merely record, in passing, the general verdict, as in our humble judgment it appears to stand between the respective combatants, we propose strictly to confine ourselves to those items of the controversy which more immediately bear upon ourselves.

To take then the first in dignity, as in repute and importance—the charge of the Lord Bishop of London; we cannot but acquiesce in the propriety of the principle laid down in the exordium, that “it will be his endeavour, in humble reliance upon the guidance of the Holy Spirit, not to enter into a polemical discussion on the truth of the doctrines or the propriety of the rites and ceremonies, which will come under consideration, *but to act as an interpreter of the Church's sense as to the one, and of her will as to the other.*” As an exemplification of the method of working this rule, and as an accessory to it, we must continually bear in mind the following very just observation,—“It is our duty,” adds the right rev. prelate, a little later, “in searching those inspired records, to avail ourselves of all the helps to a right understanding of them, placed within our reach; to ascertain, when it is possible,

the sense in which they were understood by the disciples and immediate successors of the apostles, and which was derived from them to the early Church at large." For if once we lose sight of this we shall not fail to be led astray, and seduced, it may be, into some of those numerous and contradictory interpretations (perhaps into the very doctrines advocated by the right. rev. prelate), into which a departure from this wise injunction has caused so many to fall, in common with himself; every one of which interpretations is far enough removed from the interpretation of the early Church.* But when in proceeding with his judicious preliminary observations, the right rev. prelate goes on to say, "If the view which I have taken of the subject be correct, it follows as a necessary inference, that in this country the clergy of the national Church, and *they alone*, are entitled to the respect and obedience of the people, as their lawful guides and governors in spiritual things: that *they alone* are *duly commissioned* to preach the word of God, and to minister his holy sacraments,"—we must beg leave, at the outset, to demur upon the assertion, and to take the fullest advantage of the very edifying hesitation with which this otherwise consoling "inference" is

* As a passing proof of the prescriptive rights which this method of testing the truth has obtained from ancient usage, we will note an early instance of its application, which we extract from Döllinger, p. 172. vol. I.

"In the early part of the third century, an unknown author confuted the errors of Artemon; fragments of his work have been preserved by Eusebius, who, on the authority of Photius, ascribes it to Caius, a priest of Rome. The Artemonites defended their errors by their pretended antiquity and apostolicity. Their doctrines, they maintained, had been universal down to the time of Pope Victor: his successor, Zephyrinus, corrupted the truth, and introduced the modern doctrine of the Divinity of Christ. Caius, or whoever was the author of the work against these heretics, appealed to the writings of Justin, Miltiades, Fabian, Clement, Irenæus, Melito, and many others, in all of which Christ is spoken of as God, (*θεολογεται*) and to the hymns and canticles which, from the beginning of the Church, had been composed by faithful brethren, which proclaim Christ as the Logos of God, and celebrate his Divine nature. With regard to Pope Victor, he declares, that he had excommunicated Theodotus, the first of their false teachers; he could not therefore have participated in his heresy."

This rule, it must be observed, has the priority by many centuries, over that mixed and modified method, prescribed by the Canon of the Church of England, of 1571, which, when it comes to be analyzed and applied, is altogether unavailable to its purpose, for it excludes half the doctrines of the Articles. That only is to be taught, it says, which "has been COLLECTED out of the Old and New Testament, by the Catholic fathers and ancient bishops." Bishop Bloomfield may also mean to qualify his rule by this same injunction of the Canon. But if so, he is thrown at once into a dilemma;—if he take Catholic evidence for Catholic doctrine, he must take it in its integrity; if he picks and chuses, instead of the doctrine of the Catholic fathers and ancient bishops, he takes his own.

heralded forth. For if this position be tenable (and that is admitted to be the question), *we* are driven out of the field at once, much quicker indeed than we are disposed to go: for, convincing as the case may appear to some, it does but put *us* upon our mettle to maintain *our* rights, and assert *our* claim to the very honours here so exclusively adjudged to others, and those others our rivals. And it is this which we propose to do, by the blessing of God, though as succinctly as possible, relying rather upon the force than the number of our arguments. We shall indeed, like the right rev. prelate, allow the Church and her standard divines to speak for themselves, and to be their own interpreters of their own doctrines; and if by this course we shall make it appear, as we confidently trust we shall, that the priority of right belongs to *us*, we shall then briefly show that such rights are never forfeited but by schism or apostacy, and that these are crimes of which *we* at least are wholly innocent. Let us then consider for a moment the true meaning of THE CHURCH; her attributes; her authority; her destiny; as propounded to us by the great fathers and doctors of the Church—those witnesses and interpreters of her teaching, the Jewells, the Hookers, the Andrewses, the Bramhalls, the Hammonds, the Taylors, the Bulls of primitive antiquity. And if all this can be clearly ascertained, we can have no further difficulty; for be it remembered, that Christianity is matter of fact and matter of history,—by no means matter of opinion. It was a sacred deposit once (for all) delivered to the saints, to be by them dogmatically delivered to others unto the end of time. What was delivered and believed at *first*—THAT is the true doctrine and the true faith.

St. Justin Martyr, who suffered at Rome about the year 167, writing on authority, what argument does he put forth to combat the pretensions of the Jews? "The Scriptures teach us," says he, "that there shall be another and an eternal law, dependant upon a sovereign authority, which all those who aspire to an everlasting inheritance must thenceforth obey. That law is the law of Jesus Christ."* He afterwards exemplifies his meaning in this same Dialogue with Tryphon, who had observed that many of those who were called Christians eat without scruple of the meats immolated to idols, by replying, "I admit the fact, but we hold no communion with this sort of Christians, who only confess Christ with their

* Ceillier, vol. ii. p. 30. Edit. 1730. Paris.

lips. We do not even commonly give them the name of Christians, but we call some Marcionites, others Valentinians, or Basilidians, after the author of their respective sects. As to those who are really Christians, they are so far from contaminating themselves by partaking of meats offered to idols, that they would sooner suffer death than do so.* All this was drawing "practical inferences" from his premises, somewhat distinct, we opine, from the latitudinarian opinions of modern times. And speaking of the converted Jews, he proceeds to say: "If through weakness there are those who in part observe the law of Moses, believing also in Jesus Christ, and observing his commandments, without making any difficulty about living with other Christians, nor obliging them to these observances, my opinion is that they should be received as brethren. But if their object is to compel the Gentile converts to the same observances, under pain of breaking communion with them, then do I disown them."† He then passes on to another exemplification of this his doctrine, of the paramount authority of the new law, which he every where identifies with *the Church*, and of the *exclusiveness* of her inheritance. "It is the same with those," says he, "of the race of Abraham, who live by their own law; if they believe not in Jesus Christ before death, they shall not be saved, *more especially those who pronounce anathema in the synagogues and persecute such as believe in him.*" Let us observe, for a moment, how this evidence is corroborated and enlarged by his contemporary, St. Irenæus, who was raised to the bishopric of Lyons in 177, and suffered martyrdom in 202. In his third book against the heresies of his times, to bring the full force of tradition to bear upon the controversy, he took it for granted that if the apostles had held back from the public any mysterious doctrines, to teach them merely to the more perfect, they certainly were bound above all to communicate them to the bishops, as to those whom they destined for their successors in the government of the faithful. "Nevertheless," he adds, "not one of these bishops has taught anything but what we teach and believe at this day; we know it from those who have succeeded each other from the beginning, without interruption, and whom we recognise so perfectly that we can here give an exact list of them. But not to stop to enumerate them all, let us confine ourselves to the Church of Rome, the most renowned and the

* Ceillier, vol. ii. p. 32.

† Ibid. p. 33.

most ancient; known to the whole world, and founded by the glorious apostles, Peter and Paul. We know that these two chose Linus to govern this Church after them. To Linus succeeded Anacletus; then followed Clement, Evaristus, Alexander, Sixtus, Telesphorus, who suffered a glorious martyrdom, Hyginus, Pius, Anicetus, Soter, and lastly Eleutherius, who is at this day the twelfth bishop of Rome. It is by the tradition of this Church, and by the faith preached and preserved down to us by these worthy successors of the apostles, of whom we have just spoken, that we confound all those who dare to form themselves into unlawful assemblies; whether it be by self-love, or by vain-glory, or by a blind delusion, or by whatever other motive; because it is to this Church, as to the chief, that the universal Church, that is to say, all the faithful are obliged to *unite* themselves, because she has ever inviolably preserved the traditions of the apostles.*

* Ceillier, vol. ii. p. 156.

"Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam propter potiorum principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis Traditio.—Iren. lib. iii. c. 3.

"Things being thus made plain, (the descent of doctrine from the apostles,) it is not from others that truth is to be sought, *which may be readily learned from the Church*. For to this Church, as into a rich repository, the apostles committed whatever is of divine truth, that each one, if so inclined, might thence draw the drink of life. This is the way to life: all other teachers must be shunned as thieves and robbers. For what? should there be any dispute on a point of small moment, must not recourse be had to the most ancient Churches, where the apostles resided, and from them collect the truth?" Adv. Hæreses. lib. iii. c. iv. p. 178. Ed. Ben.

"It is a duty to obey the priests of the Church, who hold their succession from the apostles, and who, with that succession, received, agreeably to the will of the Father, the sure pledge of truth. But as to those who belong not to that leading succession in whatever place they may be united, they should be suspected, either as heretics, or as schismatics, proudly extolling, and pleasing themselves, or as hypocrites, actuated by vain glory or the love of lucre. But they who impugn the truth, and excite others to oppose the Church of God, their fate is with Dathan and Abiron; while schismatics, who violate the Church's unity, experience the punishment which fell on King Jeroboam." Ibid. L. iv. c. xxvi. p. 262.

"The teaching of the Church is true and stable, showing to all men the same one path of salvation; for to her has been committed the light and the wisdom of God. As the wise man says: (Prov. c. i.) "*she uttereth her voice in the streets, she crieth on the highest walls, she speaketh without ceasing in the city gates. Every-where the Church proclaims the truth; she is the candlestick with the seven lamps; (Exod. xxv.) bearing the light of Christ.*" Adv. Hæreses L. v. c. xx. p. 317. Faith of Catholics of the five first Centuries, &c. pp. 11, 52.

Confined, as we are within a short and given space, it is impossible to gratify the reader by many original quotations. We have, therefore, generally preferred merely to note their sense, which we have chiefly taken from Ceillier's

"This same tradition had not been preserved with less precision in the East; in witness whereof, we have all the Churches of Asia, and that great man Polycarp, much more worthy of credit than Valentinian or Marcion." In conclusion, he affirms that one cannot seek the truth otherwise than in the Church, where the apostles placed it as in deposit; "for at last," says he,* "if there arise any dispute concerning faith, to whom should we have recourse if not to those most ancient Churches, where the apostles themselves taught? And how should it be now, supposing they had left us nothing in writing? Should we not follow the order of tradition which they confided to those to whom they gave the government of their Churches? It is what is done at this day by many barbarous nations, who believe in Christ Jesus without either ink or paper, having the doctrine of salvation written in their hearts by the Holy Ghost, &c."†

In book v. c. 19, St. Irenæus recapitulates all the heretics whom he had refuted in the body of his works. He shows that their heresies only began long after the early bishops to whom the apostles entrusted the care of their Churches; from which he draws this consequence, "*that it is to the Church that we must have recourse for instruction in the true faith*, because she is the seven-branch candlestick that enlightens the whole world: whereas the heretics, pretending to surpass that which they had learnt from the ancients, departed from the truth. These are the blind and the leaders of the blind, whom we must shun, as well as their doctrine, to throw ourselves into the arms of the Church, that we may be brought up within her bosom, and be there nourished with the Holy Scriptures; for she is the terrestrial paradise whose fruits are to serve for our food, as it is written in Scripture: *You shall eat of every fruit which grows in Paradise*. These fruits are all the writings inspired of God, but that which it is not even permitted us to touch, is that spirit of pride and of discord *which ever reigns amongst heretics*."‡

In another work, of which only certain passages have been preserved by Eusebius, speaking of the doctrines of some

standard work, in 25 vols., 4to, entitled "Histoire Générale des Auteurs sacrés et Ecclésiastiques, &c. Paris, Ed. 1725. Still it is impossible to do more than glance even at these; our object is only to draw the attention of the sincere enquirer to the subject, pledging ourselves that he will be amply repaid for every step by which he advances in the task.

* Iren. lib. iii. cap. 4.

† Ceillier, vol. ii. p. 156, et seq.

‡ Ceillier, vol. ii. p. 171.

heretics, he says: "That doctrine is not sound; it is contrary to that which the Church teaches," &c.* Again, "The marks of the true Church," says he, "are, that though dispersed throughout the world, she ever teaches the same faith, firmly resting it upon the tradition of the apostles, maintaining everywhere a uniformity of government, and ever pointing to the same road to salvation. To the Church is securely entrusted the safe-keeping of the truth: while those who separate from the main body, and set up for themselves, must at once be suspected of heresy or of schism. . . . It is in the Church alone that the grace of the Holy Ghost resides, maintaining her in the spirit of truth, and nourishing her with the bread of life," &c.†

After these few citations from the scanty portions of his writings which have been preserved to us, if St. Irenæus were summoned again to this troubled world of ours, from the blessed abodes which he now inhabits, and were questioned as to the mode of discovering the true faith amidst the jarring elements of contradiction which he would behold around him, surely it cannot be doubted in which direction he would turn. Would he not close his ears (as he declares his friend Polycarp would have done to the heresies of *his* time) against the strange innovations which his true and penetrating spirit would discover, in an instant, in the singular phraseology of the Thirty-nine Articles; exclaiming, "O Lord, to what times am I reserved that I should suffer such things!"‡ And would he not point to Rome, and to her eternal destinies and everlasting doctrines, and proclaim that, "By her you shall be judged, and by her you shall be confounded?"§

Advancing in our researches amongst the scanty remnants of ecclesiastical lore, which the devouring hand of time hath spared, we cannot but be struck with the clear and distinct terms in which the latitudinarian opinions of modern Churchmen are combated and overcome by the very arguments which were employed by the doctors of the early Church to defeat and counteract the heresies of their age, when Christianity was yet in its infancy, and, as it were, struggling for its very existence. For even then was it assailed by heresy, as subtle, multifarious, and obstinate, as in any later period;

* Ceillier, vol. ii. p. 174.

† Ibid. p. 183.

‡ See p. 174, vol. ii.

§ See the original, quoted in Ceillier, and in the "Faith of Catholics, on certain points of controversy, confirmed by Scripture, and attested by the Fathers of the five first centuries of the Church," etc.

and when she might have been presumed to require the exertion of her whole united strength to carry her forward on her perilous course, and seat her triumphantly beyond the reach both of Jew and Gentile; above the hatred and the envy of her rivals; above the powers of darkness and the principalities of the world. But no! She was ever destined by her divine founder to be a Church militant in the most enlarged sense of the term. The time of trial and of conflict, which began with her infancy, was not even to cease with her age; her laurels were to be all won upon the battle-field; her conquests were to be achieved by her untiring powers of resistance; her whole history was to be but one course of contention against the persecutions of her declared enemies, the corruptions of her own sons, the wiles and stratagems of her own inconstant and rebellious children.

But to pursue our course of evidence. St. Clement of Alexandria, who flourished towards the end of the second century, what is *his* opinion of the objects and attributes of the Church? "There is but one true Church," says he; "that ancient assembly of the faithful of God. Heresies are posterior to her, and rend and divide her. In her alone is the precise truth, bearing an exact conformity to the inspired writings."*

But it is his contemporary, Tertullian, who furnishes us with a mass of argument as well as evidence to substantiate the true doctrines of the Church. In the first place he warns us not to be scandalized or astonished at the prevalence of heresies, since they happen only in conformity with the predictions of heaven. They are sometimes even advantageous to the Church; for, like persecution, they serve to separate the false from the true Christian: while *their very name indicates the perversity of the deed, for it signifies a determination to resist authority, and to choose for yourselves.* This, indeed, is the root and origin of all heresies, and that which stamps them with their true character. For the rule of faith requires, that if there be any diversity of opinion, we seek for the solution of the difficulty *within the Church, and not without her.* For which reason he also tells us that heretics should not even be permitted to dispute against faith upon the pretended authority of the scriptures; for the scriptures are not their property,—because the apostle himself has deprived them of the right of disputation, in commanding us to fly a heretic when once he has been

* P. 203. vol. ii. Ceillier.

admonished; and because such disputes can be of no advantage, seeing that heretics either reject portions of the scripture, or receive them not in their integrity, adding or retrenching as it becomes necessary to accommodate them to their system: or if perchance they do receive them whole and entire, they explain them in their own way; so that, instead of gaining anything by such disputations, they only become a stumbling block to the weak and ignorant. Should they, however, act otherwise, our first duty is to examine where is the deposit of faith, and to whom the scriptures, *of right*, belong; from whom, through whom, when, and to whom those doctrines are come, the belief in which constitutes a Christian; for where these doctrines and this faith are united, there also is the truth of scripture and the interpretation of tradition. It was only to his apostles that Christ revealed the doctrine he had received from his heavenly Father; *we*, therefore, have no other means of ascertaining this doctrine but from the Churches which they founded, and instructed either by word or writing. It then follows as an incontestible truth, that *that* is the true doctrine which accords with that of the apostolic Churches, as being that which these Churches received from the apostles, the apostles from Christ, and Christ from God. *Our* belief is that of the apostolic Churches,—*the proof is that we are in communion with them*,—THEREFORE *ours* is the true doctrine.* Such was the argument of Tertullian against the heresies of his days, and who would not suppose him to be arguing against those of ours? Circumstances are no way changed,—neither the tactics of heretics, nor the principles of truth, nor the rule of faith: and can it be doubted, whether, if Tertullian were alive now (supposing him to have remained true to his own principles, from which unfortunately he swerved in his latter days, and became in his own person what he had so strongly reprobated in others, a lamentable example of the pride of the human intellect and of the frailties of man), can it be doubted, whether, when questioned upon the true method of discovering the faith of Christ, he would have pointed to Canterbury or to Rome? To Canterbury indeed he might have appealed as to an apostolic Church, but it would have been to the Canterbury of St. Augustine, and not of Archbishop Parker. Down to Archbishop Parker, he would have said, “Canterbury is in communion with Rome, *therefore* is she of the true stock.” But

* See p. 396, vol. ii. Ceillier.

the moment that he perceived the communion with Rome and the apostolic Churches to be cut off—all alliance with her repudiated as unlawful and contaminating—the English branch of the Catholic Church (which had hitherto been exemplary in her unity and in her dutiful submission to the Holy See), not only severing herself by a simple act of schism, but soon putting herself at variance upon doctrines which had hitherto been common to both; setting up a symbol of faith for herself, and withdrawing from all allegiance to the Church, because the *ancient* Church, which the Fathers so revered, and to which they ever clung as to the bark of Peter, had no longer any authority to teach her!—would he not have immediately put his anathema upon her, and have condemned her as a prevaricator?—would he not have placed her in the same category with the sectaries of *his* days, and demanded her to show her credentials? He would have said, “I will not enter into disputation with you, for you have no right to be heard; you are no longer in communion with the apostolic Churches; you have abandoned the faith of your fathers, and with it have forfeited the rights of your inheritance.” That short argument would have been conclusive on the *whole* question. He would not have stopped at particulars, but would have declared that the Church of Christ was *indivisible*, that they had presumed to separate from her, and had therefore no longer any part with her. Her title as an apostolic Church was forfeited—she was now but a withered branch, instead of a living member of the parent stock.

Would he not also have pursued the argument, saying to the priests and prelates of Canterbury,—“Show me your pedigree,—let me see the connecting link which brings you up to the apostolic age, and unites you to the apostolic Churches; for I hear of a chasm which still remains to be filled up, before you can be entitled to prosecute your commission, and promulgate the doctrines once delivered to the saints.* History tells me that the ancient hierarchy of the country,—that which had been derived from, and had constantly communicated with the apostolic Churches,—was long since swept away, and that a new race was appointed in their stead, professing to derive their rights from other sources, even from a lay authority, and totally unconnected with him to whom Christ said—“Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail

* See the Extract from the original in Ceillier, p. 400, vol. ii.

against it. To thee will I give the keys (the emblems of authority and government) of the kingdom of heaven; whatsoever you shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, whatsoever you shall loose on earth shall be loosed also in heaven." (St. Matt. xvi.)—"Feed my sheep, feed my lambs." (St. John xxi.)

Strangers to that great community which not only can prove its descent, but also its mission, from the apostles and their legitimate successors, still held together by one continuous line of close and mysterious compact, of which the successor of St. Peter is the necessary connecting bond, is it not clear that these men of the new principles are intruders into the fold? that they have come over the fence instead of finding their way through the door? "He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up another way, the same is a thief and a robber. But he that entereth in by the door, is the shepherd of the sheep." (St. John x. 1, 2.)

Cranmer, I find, (he would have said), had a short and very efficient method of settling these matters. He propounded, that "all Christian princes have committed unto them immediately of God the *whole* cure of all their subjects, as well concerning the administration of God's word, for the cure of souls, as concerning the ministration of things political, and civil governance."

This, of course, made the crown the depositary and administrator of *all* power, both spiritual and temporal. But still more explicitly to meet every difficulty *in limine*, and to crush every possible objection which might eventually arise on the score of the commonly-received opinion, that bishops—that is, they who had hitherto been considered as the spiritual governors of the Church—required both the sacrament of ordination, to confer upon them a spiritual character—distinguishing them, and separating them thereby, from the rest of men—as well as jurisdiction from some competent and recognized authority, before they could duly enter upon their episcopal functions, Cranmer,—to satisfy by anticipation all scruples on these points, thus laid down the law, clearly foreseeing it would soon become necessary for the times. "In the admission, says he, of many of these officers (such as bishops, parsons, vicars, &c.) be divers comely ceremonies and solemnities used, which be not of necessity, but only for a good order and seemly fashion; for if such offices and ministrations were committed without such solemnity, they were nevertheless truly committed: and there is no more promise of God, that grace is given in the committing of

the ecclesiastical office, than it is in the committing of the civil office." But as if this were not sufficient to meet the whole case, he goes on to say,—“A bishop may make a priest by the Scripture, and *so may princes and governours also, and that by the authority of God committed to them, and the people also by their election.*” And still further, to prevent any possibility of mistake as to his meaning, he thus proceeds with his commentary: “In the New Testament, he that is appointed to be a bishop, or a priest, *needeth no consecration by the Scripture, for election or appointing thereto is sufficient.*”

Being furthermore asked whether Christian princes could, without the intervention of ecclesiastics, *make and constitute priests or no?* He boldly avers the affirmative. And whether all the bishops and priests of a region being dead, the king of that region should make bishops and priests to supply the same? He replies,—“It is not forbidden by God’s law.”

Is it surprising, then, that this doctrine prepared the ground for what followed, and that in a few short years, when these very necessities arose, we find the hireling unable to enter by the door, climbing up another way, and sinking the spiritual in the temporal power, for the attainment of his object?*

No wonder that Burnet should observe, that “Cranmer had some singular opinions about ecclesiastical functions and offices which he *seemed* to make wholly dependent on the magistrate, as much as the civil were:”† and no wonder that doubts should have been raised upon the validity of the ordinations of men who had been tutored in such a school.‡

Receiving their mission, as they condescended to do, from the secular power, it was not surprising that they should be negligent on other essential points, as we know to have been the case at the ordination of Sampson, when Cranmer dispensed with the rites and ceremonies, to which he, with his puritanical notions, even then objected.

* See these opinions of Cranmer in Burnet, Record No. xxi. vol. ii. Ed. 1840,

† Vol. i. p. 270.

‡ Whether Cranmer, in this, as well as in other points, wavered, changed, and *conformed* his opinion to suit circumstances, is but little or nothing to the argument as it is here used: for it is clear that such opinions not only prevailed extensively abroad, but in England also. Burnet, referring again to the matter, observes, “In Cranmer’s paper some singular opinions of his about the nature of Ecclesiastical offices will be found; but as they are delivered by him with all possible modesty, so they were not established as the doctrine of the Church, but *laid aside as particular conceits of his own.* And it seems, that afterwards he changed his opinion; for he subscribed the book that was soon after set out, which is directly contrary to those opinions set down in these papers.”—p. 447. vol. i. 1540.

No sooner had Parker, the first of the intruders, been *elected* by Queen Elizabeth to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury,—that same see where these doctrines had been so fondly cherished,—than we find him, in a most solemn and deliberate deed, making his public profession of faith in entire conformity with these principles, acknowledging and confessing to have and to hold the archbishopric of Canterbury, and the possession of the same entirely, as well the SPIRITUALITIES as Temporalities thereof,—only of her majesty and crown royal of these her realms.* But there was a remnant of the old orthodox principles, and a remembrance of ancient usage, still left in the country.

“Immediately after Archbishop Parker and his fellow Protestant bishops had assumed their titles, their consecration was called in question by the Catholic clergy. ‘Objections,’ says the Rev. D. Neal, ‘being frequently thrown in the way of the new bishops by the papists, made them uneasy; they began to doubt of the validity of their consecrations, or at least of their legal title to their bishoprics. The affair was at length brought before Parliament, and to silence all future clamours, Parker’s consecration, and those of his brethren, were confirmed by the two Houses, about seven years after they had filled their chairs.’†

“Now what was the natural course to be pursued under such accusations as were made against the *new bishops*? When told publicly, frequently, and by a numerous class of learned men, that their consecration was ‘counterfeit’ and invalid, would not common-sense prompt them, if they really believed episcopal ordination and apostolical succession necessary for the valid exercise of their episcopal functions,—would not common-sense prompt them to publish the register of their consecration,—the form by which they were consecrated,—and the bishops by whom they were consecrated? But if the form of their consecration was called in question; if the persons who imposed hands upon them, were declared, upon good grounds, to be no bishops; what would prudent men, with the sentiments we have just mentioned, have done in this case? Why, if it had been possible, they would have called in some lawfully and validly consecrated bishops, and they would have received from them, either absolutely or conditionally, as circumstances required, a consecration which would have allayed all doubts, and silenced the objections of their opponents.

“But not one of these prudent steps was taken. Hence we may

* Arch. Parker’s homage to Queen Elizabeth. Apud West, die Feb. 1559, Collier Eccles. Coll. of Records, p. 93.

† Hist. of Purit. vol. i. c. iv. p. 134, and likewise Camden’s Life of Elizabeth, Anno 9.

conjecture that Parker and his colleagues were of the same opinion with Cranmer and Barlow, and the foreign divines. With them the appointment of their prince was sufficient. They make, therefore, an appeal to the queen, their mistress and their head; and to the parliament, their lawgiver, to protect them from further insult; to throw the mantle of this high authority over their shoulders, and to declare to the world that they were legally bishops of the New Church established by law in this country. The act drawn up for the purpose, and passed 1566, shall speak for itself. The preamble sets forth:

“‘Forasmuch as divers questions, by overmuch boldness of speech and talk amongst many of the common sort of people, being unlearned, hath lately grown upon the making and consecrating of archbishops and bishops within this realm,—whether the same were and be duly and orderly done, according to the law or not, &c. Therefore, for the avoiding of such slanderous speech.....it is thought convenient hereby partly to touch such authorities as doth allow and approve the making and consecrating of the same archbishops and bishops to be duly and orderly done, according to the laws of this realm.....

“‘First, it is very well known to all degrees of this realm, that the late king, Henry VIII, as well as all the clergy then of this realm,’ [this is untrue] ‘in their several convocations, as also by all the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons assembled in divers of his parliaments, was justly and rightfully acknowledged to have the supreme power, jurisdiction, &c. over all the state ecclesiastical of the realm, and the same power, jurisdiction, and authority, did use accordingly. And that the late King Edward VI did lawfully succeed the late King Henry VIII in his imperial crown,.....and did justly possess and enjoy all the same power, jurisdiction, and authority before mentioned.....And that also King Edward VI, by authority of Parliament, caused a godly and virtuous book, entitled *The Book of Common Prayer and administration of Sacraments, &c.* to be made and set forth,.....but did also add to the same book, a very good and godly order of the manner and form how archbishops, bishops, priests, &c. should from time to time be consecrated, made, and ordered.....[Moreover] at the parliament holden at Westminster in the first year of the reign of our sovereign lady, the queen’s majesty that now is, by one other act and statute there made, all such jurisdictions, &c. spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be used over the ecclesiastical state of this realm, and the order, reformation, and correction of the same, is fully and absolutely, by the authority of the same parliament, united.....to the imperial crown of this realm. And by the same act,.....there is also given to the queen’s highness, her heirs and successors,.....full power and authority by letters patent,.....

from time to time, to assign, name, and authorise such person or persons as she or they may think meet and convenient, to exercise, use, occupy, and execute, under her highness, all manner of jurisdictions, &c. in any wise touching or concerning any *spiritual or ecclesiastical power or jurisdiction* within this realm ;.....thereupon, our said sovereign lady, being most justly and lawfully invested in the imperial crown of this realm,.....hath, by her supreme authority, at divers times, sithence the beginning of her majesty's reign, caused divers grave and well-learned men to be duly elected, made, and consecrated archbishops and bishops, &c.....according to such order and form, and with such ceremonies in and about their consecrations, as were allowed by the said acts.....And further, for the avoiding all ambiguities, and questions that might be objected against the lawful confirmations, investing, and consecrations of the said archbishops, &c.....hath not only used such words and sentences as were accustomed to be used by Henry VIII and Edward VI, but also hath used and put in her majesty's said letters patent, divers other general words and sentences, whereby her highness, by her supreme power and authority, hath dispensed with all causes or doubts of any imperfection or disability, that can or may, in any ways be objected against the same : [from which] it may be very evident.....that no cause of scruple, ambiguity, or doubt, can or may justly be objected against the said elections, confirmations, consecrations, &c. Thus far the preamble. Then it is enacted : ' That all consecrations, confirmations, &c. made by virtue of the queen's letters patent or commission since the beginning of her reign, shall be judged good and perfect, to all respects and purposes. And all persons that have been, or that shall be, consecrated archbishops and bishops, &c. pursuant to the form or ordinal [of Edward VI] are declared and enacted to be rightly consecrated and ordained, any statute, law, canon, or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding.*

" This is the sole authority upon which the ordination of the ministers of the Church of England rests. The parliament gave Henry VIII supreme spiritual jurisdiction in his own dominions, with the power to elect bishops, to command them to be consecrated, to appoint what number of bishops should be necessary to consecrate them, to institute the form and ceremony of their consecration, and to allow them, according to his good pleasure, to exercise their episcopal functions. Edward VI inherited, with his father's crown, the same privileges. Elizabeth had consigned to her by parliament whatever spiritual power and authority were exercised and claimed by her father and brother. When in possession of this power, she ' caused divers grave and well-learned men to be duly elected, made, and consecrated archbishops, bishops, &c.,

* Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. book iv. p. 509.

according to the laws of Henry VIII and Edward VI; and she dispensed with all causes, or doubts of imperfection, or disability in the same.

"They were therefore as good bishops as the queen and parliament could possibly make them. They were made by law,—bishops of a church established by law. In this there was consistency. For they who looked up to the queen as their head, and to the parliament as their lawgiver, would necessarily be satisfied when both the queen and the parliament declared them bishops duly elected, duly made, duly authorised. After this memorable act of parliament, Archbishop Parker and his associates set at defiance all the ambiguities, objections, and cavils of the papists. The queen had elected them,—had commanded certain persons to consecrate them,—had appointed the form of their consecration,—had dispensed with every '*imperfection and disability*,'—and had given them jurisdiction to preach the word of God, and to administer the sacraments: she had done all these things with the solemn sanction of parliament; they were satisfied,—completely satisfied; and they justly submitted to be taunted with the appellation of either the *Queen's Bishops*, or *Parliament Bishops*."*

All this (Tertullian would have continued) satisfies me that the chain is broken, that the Anglican Church no longer derives from the apostles, but that she has set herself up as an intruder and a stranger in the land, upon principles at utter variance with those which governed the ancient bishops and rulers of the Church, and that she thereby forfeits all claim to apostolical succession or jurisdiction. And we must confess, on our part, that Tertullian would have reasoned rightly and consistently, and we are convinced that he would have been as forward as we are, in demurring to that strange and illogical "inference" of the Lord Bishop of London, "that in this country, the clergy of the National Church, and *they alone*, are entitled to the respect and obedience of the people, as their lawful guides and governors in spiritual things: that *they alone* are DULY COMMISSIONED to preach the Word of God, and to minister his holy sacraments."

Having thus concisely put forth some few of the grounds upon which we venture to question this bold assertion,—a "pious and salutary doctrine," no doubt, "and very necessary for these times," as the articles would express it,—we will state but one single argument in defence of our counter-claim, drawn also from that well-furnished armoury of Tertullian, whose language and sentiments are as analogous to

* Prot. Ord. Examined, by the Rev. H. Smith; as a Sequel to his Short Hist. of the Prot. Reformation. Dolman, 1842.

these times as they were to *his* ; and for this simple reason, that truth is immutable,—by the same principles by which she was vindicated sixteen hundred years ago, she must be vindicated to-day ;—she must be scrutinized by the same tests, and by those tests must she stand or fall. I have examined your pedigree, would he say to us, I see by the order and succession of your bishops, as long as you enjoyed them, that you descended in a right line from the apostles ; I find you still in communion with all the apostolic Churches ; you still look to Rome as to the spiritual mother and mistress of the world ; you have neither diversity nor contrariety of doctrine among you, but are bound together in one uniform belief, under one sovereign and supreme authority. If this be your condition, he would add, humiliated as you may be in the eyes of the world, driven from your temporal possessions, reviled and contemned, tormented and persecuted, (as it often becomes true members of a Church militant to be), for these are but additional tokens of the disciples of a crucified Master,—rely upon it, the title-deeds are yours ; and though you have inherited, with your spiritual patrimony, but scorns and buffets in these latter times, to *you* does it belong to promulgate the law of your divine original, to *you* has the commission descended :—“ All power is given to me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ; and behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world ” (St. Matt. xxviii.), AND TO NO OTHER. Your rights can no more be alienated than the law of God can be rescinded ; your office may be usurped, but your inherent privileges remain unattainted. *They* are the schismatics, not you.

Such, doubtless, would have been the verdict of Tertullian, and such is ours. In reading the history of those times, could we doubt for an instant but that Pole was a true and legitimate successor of St. Augustine, and could we believe that Parker was anything but an intruder ? When this latter held the last of the ancient hierarchy, the venerable Tunstal, a prisoner of state in his palace of Lambeth, could any one question which was the martyr, and which the persecutor,—which was the true apostle of the ancient faith ; he who, like St. Peter the prince of the apostles, was in chains, or he who was ministering to the tyrannical will of an apostate sovereign, who now presumed to exercise the authority which in all former times had been confided to the

supreme head of the Christian world, by right of its delegation to him to whom Christ said—"thou art a rock, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it;—feed my sheep, feed my lambs"? Doubtless, then, the right reverend prelate has done well to put it hypothetically. If the view he has taken be correct, then indeed his inference might be drawn; but it happens that this his view is not only incorrect, but is diametrically opposed to all ancient principle, and to the well-established and universally-recognized usages of the primitive Church, as manifestly appears from those *helps to a right understanding* of these matters to which the right reverend prelate refers us,—“the sense in which they were understood by the disciples and immediate successors of the apostles, and which was derived from them to the early Church at large;” so that we may conclude with Tertullian, and with all the learned and saintly doctors of the Church, that they who are unable to prove their succession, are incapacitated from the exercise of their functions, and are lawfully cut off from the communion of the faithful, and from all the true and apostolic Churches.*

Having, then, by these few but convincing arguments (and it is a course of reasoning which we might pursue throughout a hundred ramifications, and through the entire history of the Christian Church) sufficiently shown, that the people of this country are not only absolved from their allegiance to pastors who have betrayed them, but are legally bound in obedience to others, who, few and mean as they are in the eyes of those whose spiritual perceptions are, alas! so fatally governed by the worldly interests which surround them, are, nevertheless, the representatives of the ancient hierarchy of the country, still drawing their commission, (yet more directly and immediately, indeed, as if to put all cavil out of the question), from the very same power and authority which sent Augustine into England to propagate the religion of Rome amongst our Saxon ancestors;—we will now proceed in our defence against the gratuitous attacks of the right reverend prelate. “We hold,” says he, “in opposition to the Church of Rome, that the offering of a propitiatory sacrifice to God, is not one of the functions and privileges of the Christian ministry. Jesus Christ *by one offering*

* We have, for the sake of brevity, purposely abstained from giving the solemnly expressed *sense and will of the Church* upon the doctrines impugned by the right reverend prelate, because these are very easy of access to the reader, who, when interested in the question, will not fail to have recourse to them.

hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified; and we derogate from the absolute worthiness and sufficiency of that offering, if we suppose that any supplementary sacrifices are required for the purpose of propitiation. If God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself;† we need no other reconciler. We have indeed our sacrifice, and our altar, and our priesthood, to offer the one, and to minister at the other. But the sacrifice is a spiritual sacrifice, and the altar is figuratively an altar. We slay no victim, we offer no victim slain," &c.—(p. 10.)*

Treating this point in the same manner as we have done the last, we might speedily fill our pages with the most apt and convincing quotations from the fathers of the four first centuries of the Church, in proof of the doctrines which prevailed in *their* days upon the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass; but as we have much to compress within a short compass, and as the evidence we could adduce is readily discovered by those who might perchance require more ample details than we have space to allot to them, we shall content ourselves with a few only.

"Inflamed," says St. Justin, "by the word of his calling, as it were by fire, truly we are the sacerdotal offspring of God; as he himself attests, saying that, in every place among the nations, *we offer to him well pleasing and clean victims*. These victims he accepts from his own priests alone. Wherefore, showing preference to all those who through his name, *offered the sacrifices which God ordained to be offered, that is, the Eucharist of bread and the chalice*, which, in all places of the earth, are celebrated by the Christian people, God declares that they are well pleasing to him. But the sacrifices of you Jews, and of your priests, he rejects, saying: 'I will accept no offering from your hands; because, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, my name is great among the Gentiles, but ye have profaned it.'—*Malach. i.* But I myself say, that those prayers and thanksgivings are alone perfect, and the victims pleasing to God, which are offered by good men. These, Christians alone have learned to offer, in the commemoration of *their dry and liquid food* (bread and wine), in which commemoration they are reminded of the passion which Christ suffered."—*Dial. cum Tryphon. Judæo*, p. 209.

"Giving advice," says St. Irenæus, "to his disciples to offer their first fruits to God, not as if he stood in need of them, but that they might not seem ungrateful, he took bread into his hands, and giving thanks, said: *This is my body*. Likewise he declared the cup to be his blood, and taught the new oblation of the New Testament, *which oblation the Church receiving from the apostles, offers it to God over all the earth*—to him who grants us food—

* Heb. x. 14. † 2 Cor. v. 19.

the first fruits of his gifts in the New Testament, of which the prophet Malachias spoke : ' I will not accept offerings from your hands. For, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, my name is great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense is offered to my name, and a clean sacrifice.' (1) Manifestly hereby signifying, that the first people (the Jews) will cease to offer to God ; and that, in every place, a sacrifice, and that clean, will be offered to him, and that his name is glorified among the Gentiles.*—*Adv. Hær.* L. iv. c. xvii. p. 249. " Therefore, the offering of the Church which the Lord directed to be made over all the world, was deemed a pure sacrifice before God, and received by him ; not that he stands in need of sacrifice from us, but because he that makes the offering, if his gift be accepted, is thereby rendered worthy of praise. As, then, in simplicity the Church offers, her offering is accepted by God as a pure sacrifice. It is our duty to make an offering," &c. See p. 209, *ibid.* c. xviii. p. 250, 251,—*Faith of Catholics of the five first centuries of the Church*, p. 267, et seq.

Need we trouble our readers with any further witnesses, to prove which of the two is the ancient doctrine of the Church,—that the mass is a propitiatory sacrifice, by which " the fruits of that bloody offering (the sacrifice of the cross) are most plentifully received: so far is it from truth, that hereby the least part is derogated from it. Wherefore, according to apostolical tradition, the mass is duly offered, not only for the benefit of the living, but also for those who, though dead in Christ, are not fully cleansed from all defilement,"—whether this short definition, we say, of the council of Trent, and this evidence of the fathers, be more conformable to primitive belief, or the singularly unmeaning definition of the Bishop of London,—*" But the sacrifice is a spiritual sacrifice, and the altar is figuratively an altar: we slay no victim, we offer no victim slain,"* &c.

" Our blessed Saviour's charge to St. Peter," the bishop goes on to say, *" and through him to all his ministers, was, Feed my sheep.* Whatsoever acts of kindness or authority are requisite for the due execution of that charge, with respect to those to whom we stand

* On this passage the learned Commentator of Irenæus, Dr. Grabe, a Protestant divine, who had made the writings of the fathers his more particular study, observes : " It is certain that Irenæus and all the fathers, either contemporary with the apostles, or their immediate successors, whose writings are still extant, considered the blessed Eucharist to be the *sacrifice* of the new law, and offered bread and wine on the altar, as sacred oblations to God the Father; and that this was not the private opinion of any particular Church or teacher, but the public doctrine and practice of the Universal Church, which she received from the apostles, and they from Christ, is expressly shown in this place by Irenæus, and before him by Justin M. and Clement of Rome."—Note in Irenæum, p. 323.

in the relation of pastors, it is ours to exercise, and theirs to acknowledge and submit to: but in our ministerial acts both of kindness and authority, especially the latter, we are to have respect for the Church's laws and ordinances; and beyond what *they* require, we may not claim obedience. And it is well that it is so: for a spiritual authority, not so limited, in the hands of fallible and imperfect men, *would be perverted, as in the example of Rome, to the ends of an intolerable tyranny over the secret thoughts and consciences, as well as the outward acts and observances of those who should be subject to it.*"—p. 12.

But does not the right reverend prelate recollect that the same Saviour gave a still further commission to the same St. Peter, and *through him to all his ministers*: "I will give to thee the keys (those emblems of authority) of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven?" (St. Matt. xvi. 19.) And after his resurrection, did he not most emphatically confirm this delegated power to his apostles and disciples, when he made them priests of the Most High? "Peace be to you; as the Father hath sent me, I also send you. When he had said this, he breathed on them; and he said to them, receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them; and whose you shall retain, they are retained." (St. John xx. 21-2-3.)

Now, was all this solemn confiding of authority, this especial delegation of the powers of government, nought but so many empty words? or did it not rather convey some substantial rights even over the consciences of men, with such limitations, certainly, as they to whom the power was given, apparently without any, might fully understand? The power was evidently twofold, and in its very nature discretionary;—but how can a discretionary power be exercised without a knowledge of the circumstances? As the bishop admits the validity of ordinations, and believes that the imposition of hands confers the Holy Ghost on the ministers of God, so also does he hold the power of absolution to reside with the clergy so ordained;—but here does he begin to innovate upon the ancient doctrine, and to restrict the authority of such ministers to a mere ceremonial: the priest pronounces the words of absolution indiscriminately upon all, and abandons all right to judge of the propriety of the exercise of his functions. His is a power to loose, but not to bind, and half the injunctions of our Saviour are thrown to the winds: "Whose sins ye shall forgive, they are forgiven;

whose sins ye shall retain, they are retained." Let us now for an instant pursue the course pointed out to us by the right reverend prelate himself, and see whether we cannot sufficiently ascertain—even from the scanty historical evidence which has descended to us from the early ages of Christianity, independently of the authority of the Church—in what sense these words were interpreted by the primitive Christians; with which interpretation, if our own be found to coincide, we have even an absolute proof that such *has* been, and therefore *ought* to be, the doctrine of the Church. For unless the doctrine of the Church be immutable, and as eternal as herself, she can be no true umpire in controversies of faith, nor possess any power to restrain the fancies, or the rash and perverse judgments of men.

Tertullian, and those writers who preceded him, appear to speak only of the public confession of sins, and the penances enjoined by the canons; but, in the third century, we have abundant evidence of both the doctrine and discipline of the Church on the general subject of auricular confession, as a necessary part of the sacrament of penance.

"God sees into the hearts and breasts of all men," says St. Cyprian, "and he will judge, not their actions only, but their words and thoughts, viewing the most hidden conceptions of the mind. Hence, though some of these persons be remarked for their faith and the fear of God, and have not been guilty of the crime of sacrificing (to idols), nor of surrendering the holy Scriptures; yet if the *thought of doing it* have ever entered their mind, this they confess, with grief and without disguise, before the priests of God, unburdening the conscience, and seeking a salutary remedy, however small and pardonable their failing may have been. God, they know, will not be mocked."—*De Lapsis*, p. 190.

Having mentioned some other sins not greatly criminal, he adds:

"The fault is less, but the conscience is not clear. Pardon may more easily be obtained; still there is guilt: and let not the sinner cease from doing penance, lest, what before was small, be aggravated by neglect. I entreat you, my brethren, let all confess their faults, while he that has offended enjoys life, while his confession can be received, and while the satisfaction and pardon imparted by the priests are acceptable before God."—*Ibid.*

Speaking of the culpable indulgence shown to some, who had fallen in the time of persecution, he observes:

"The miserable men are thus deceived; and when, by doing sincere penance, by prayer and good works, they might satisfy God, they are seduced into greater danger, and fall lower when they might rise. In the case of smaller failings, it is required that sin-

ners do penance for a stated time; that, according to the rule of established discipline, they come to confession (*exomologesis*), and that, by the imposition of the hand of the bishop and clergy, they be admitted to communion."

"There is yet a more severe and arduous pardon of sins by penance," observes Origen, "when the sinner washes his couch with his tears, and when he blushes not to disclose his sin to the priest of the Lord, and seek a remedy. Thus is fulfilled what the apostle says: 'Is any man sick among you, let him bring in the priests of the Church.' (James v. 14.)"—*Homil. ii. in Levit. t. ii. p. 191.* "At the last day, 'all things will be revealed, whatever we shall have committed; what we have done in private, what in word only, or even in thought: all will be laid open. But if, while we are alive, we prevent this, and become our own accusers, we shall escape the designs of the accusing devil; for thus the prophet says: Let us be our own accusers.'—*Homil. iii. in Levit. t. ii. p. 196.* "Observe what the divine Scripture teaches, that we must not inwardly conceal our sins. For as those whose stomach is overloaded with indigestible food, and humours, if they vomit, are instantly relieved: so they who have sinned, if they hide and retain their sin within their breasts, are grievously tormented: but if the sinner becomes his own accuser, while he does this, he discharges the cause of all his malady. Only let him carefully consider to whom he should confess his sin; what is the character of the physician; if he be one who will be weak with the weak, who will weep with the sorrowful, and who understands the discipline of condolence and fellow-feeling. So that when his skill shall be known, and his pity felt, you may follow what he shall advise. Should he think your disease to be such, that it should be declared in the assembly of the faithful, whereby others may be edified, and yourself easily reformed—this must be done with much deliberation and the skilful advice of the physician.'—*Homil. ii. in Psal. xxxviii. t. ii. p. 688.* "They who are not holy die in their sins; the holy do penance; they feel their wounds; are sensible of their failings; look for the priest; implore health; and through him seek to be purified."—*Homil. x. in Num. t. ii. p. 302.* "If we discover our sins not only to God, but to those who may apply a remedy to our wounds and iniquities, our sins will be effaced by him who said: *I have blotted out thy iniquities as a cloud, and thy sins as a mist.*"—(Isa. xlv. 22.)"—*Homil. xvii. in Lucam.**

We cannot find space for more quotations. But as we advance in the inquiry, the evidence thickens, so as to leave not the smallest doubt that the doctrines of antiquity on this point correspond most perfectly with the present doctrine of

* Faith of Catholics, &c., compiled by Rev. Joseph Berington and John Kirk. 8vo, Edit. 1830. P. 429.

the Catholic Church, and that the "*intolerable* tyranny over the secret thoughts and consciences, as well as the outward acts and observances, of those who are subject to her authority" was in as full vigour in primitive times, in all those churches which were founded by the apostles, had derived an uninterrupted jurisdiction, and had continued an unbroken succession from them, as it is in ours. Has not this ever been the interpretation—and the only sensible and consistent interpretation it is—of that high commission given to the apostles, and through them to all their legitimate successors—"to bind and to loose,"—"whose sins ye shall forgive, they are forgiven; whose sins ye shall retain, they are retained"?

The right reverend prelate then proceeds to warn his readers against the crime of apostatizing, as he is pleased to call it, to an IDOLATROUS Church, *i. e.* the Church Catholic. Now, really this is so old and hacknied a charge, so long and pertinaciously advanced, and yet so constantly and thoroughly refuted, that to urge it now, carries us back to the history even of heathen Rome, when in their blind and furious struggle against the *innovations* of Christianity, as they were called, the Pagans persisted for ages in accusing the meek and virtuous Christian of the most atrocious crimes, such as sacrificing infant children in the celebration of their rites, and then feasting upon their flesh.

And how did the eloquent Tertullian reply to the accusation? Why, precisely as *we* do now to this of the Bishop of London. With him we complain, that we are condemned without a hearing,—condemned in ignorance of our doctrines and our practices. The prejudice against the very name of *Catholic* is still as great amongst some (happily not in all), as it was against *Christian* in the days of Tertullian. "*Christianity*," said he, "is prohibited by the laws; *therefore* do you condemn it. But is this a justifiable cause? The Christians are accused of not adoring the gods, and of not offering sacrifice to the emperor,—and in this indeed we are guilty." *We* also are accused of a divided allegiance, because we refuse to renounce our duty as Christians, and give to Cæsar the things that are God's. In this indeed are we guilty, and we glory in it. We glory that at the command of an imperious tyrant, following only the ungoverned impulses of an impetuous temper, a remnant at least of our afflicted ancestors heroically refused to adore before the golden statue, and to crouch before the wayward but relentless will of the usurping monarch. The Pagans, says Tertullian, reproached the

Christians for adoring the head of an ass, because, taking Christianity but as a consequence of Judaism, they had believed the Jews to have done so : nor was their misapprehension corrected till they had satisfied themselves with their own eyes, upon the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey, of the utter falsity of this assertion. Others, says he, accused them of adoring *the cross*, and more especially the sun, because they worshipped God with their faces towards the east, and sanctified in a peculiar manner the day dedicated to that luminary.

Neither has any succeeding age yet corrected all the follies and injustice of the former ; and in spite of all our assertions to the contrary, in spite of the attesting voice of one hundred and fifty millions of Catholic Christians, are we still accused of the same absurdities with the same obstinate perversity. When Pompey entered the temple he found no idol ; and if the Bishop of London would but enter ours, he might be more cautious how he bantered us with idolatry ; for though he would behold the image of Christ crucified, of his Virgin Mother, and of his saints, and see them venerated, in virtue of that which they represent, and employed as incentives to devotion, he might very soon be satisfied, if he but questioned any of those whom he there found worshipping, whether it were the image, or that which it represented, to which they addressed their supplications. He would be told, as Tertullian told the calumniators of his days, that we adored but one God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and of all things therein, the Lord, and life, and light of the world, who redeemed us by his only Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, and who will one day return amongst us in great power, majesty, and glory, to judge both the living and the dead according to their works.

If ours is to be an idolatrous Church from the presumed *tendencies*—and this is now become a very prevalent, and rather fashionable doctrine—of even the most legitimate use of painting and sculpture in the decoration of our churches, then indeed is it equally manifest, that the primitive Christians, in the very earliest ages of a struggling and persecuted Church, were also idolaters upon the same principle ; for the common use of such representations is attested to this day by the many very interesting remains of ancient painting still existing in the catacombs. If, on the other hand, the Right Reverend Prelate would insinuate that we were an idolatrous Church because of our doctrine and practice in the invocation

of the saints ; then also will we triumphantly refer him to the history of the early Church, and ascertain by *that*, that the doctrine of Trent upon this head was also the doctrine of the immediate successors of the apostles, and convince him herein, even by his own rule,—by “those helps to a right understanding of these matters,”—“the sense in which they (the Scriptures) were understood by the disciples and immediate successors of the apostles, and which was derived from them to the early Church at large.”* Not to load our pages with supernumerary quotations, we will content ourselves with this one from Origen, who flourished in the third century,—certainly far removed beyond the fatal, though mysterious period (*eight hundred years and more*), in which the homilies of 1562 declare us (upon what authority is not said) to have been buried in damnable idolatry,—and who must undoubtedly be taken as speaking the common language and sentiments of his day.

“Who can doubt,” says Origen, “that our holy fathers aid us by their prayers, and strengthen and excite us by the example of their actions, as also by the writings they have left us ; herein teaching and instructing us how to fight against the adverse powers, and in what manner these contests are to be maintained ? Thus they fight for us, and advance armed before us.”—*Homil. xxvi. in Num. t. ii. p. 373.* “And of all the holy men who have quitted this life, retaining their charity towards those whom they left behind, we may be allowed to say, that they are anxious for their salvation, and that they assist them by their prayers and their mediation with God. For it is written in the books of the Macca-bees : “This is Jeremiah the prophet of God who always prays for the people.”—*Lib. iii. in Cant. Cantic. t. iii. p. 75.* “The angels are everywhere present : come, then, thou angel, receive him that is changed from his former error ; from the doctrine of demons ; from loud-speaking iniquity ; and, having received him, sooth him as a kind physician, and instruct him, for he is yet young. And call to thee the associates of thy ministry, that, together, you may train to the faith all those that have been deceived. *For there is greater joy in heaven upon one sinner that doth penance, than upon ninety-nine just.* Every creature exults and rejoices with those that shall be saved. “For the expectation of the creature waiteth for the revelation of the sons of God !” (Rom. viii. 19.)—*Homil. i. in Ezechiel, t. iii. p. 358.*

In his book on the *Lamentations*, he says : “I will fall down on my knees, and not presuming, on account of my

* Charge, p. 20.

crimes, to present my prayer to God, I will invoke all the saints to my assistance. O ye saints of heaven, I beseech you with a sorrow full of sighs and tears; fall at the feet of the Lord of mercies for me, a miserable sinner." Addressing himself to holy Job, he says, "Pray for us unfortunate creatures, that the mercies of the terrible God may deign to protect us in all our tribulations, and in the midst of the snares spread by our enemy."—*Lib. ii. de Job.**

* Faith of Catholics, &c. p. 426.

We hope we may also venture to introduce, as evidence of the ancient and orthodox doctrines of the Church on images, two highly interesting letters on the subject, the one from Gregory the Great, and the other from Gregory the 2nd; and we would fain express a hope that, though some centuries later, yet the former being 1000 years, and the latter 900 before the publication of the homilies, they also may be adjudged to be beyond that unhappy, but unsettled boundary of 800 years and more.

"We have been informed," says Gregory the Great, writing to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, "that, inflamed by an inconsiderate zeal, you have broken certain holy images, under the plea that such were not to be adored. And, indeed, that you should have forbidden their adoration would have deserved our eulogy, as you now deserve our censure for having broken them; for tell me, brother, when did you ever hear of any other priest or bishop doing as you have done? And should not this consideration alone have withheld you from a procedure from which it would seem that you alone are wise and holy, while all others are impious and in error. Know you not that it is one thing to adore a picture, another to learn by a picture what *is* to be adored. For pictures are to the illiterate what books are to the learned. For in them they see what examples they are to imitate, and thus they are enabled to read, without knowing their letters. Wherefore you had no right to break or destroy that which was placed in the Church, not for the adoration of the people, but for their instruction. And as it was not without reason that antiquity (this was written before the year 600) had the acts or histories of the saints depicted in the sanctuary, no doubt you would have found means to edify, instead of scandalizing and scattering the flock confided to your care, had not your learning been surpassed by your indiscretion.

"How can you expect to bring the strayed sheep into our Lord's fold, when you know not how to keep even those that were given to you in charge? Wherefore, we exhort, that even now you bestir yourself and be vigilant, instead of giving way to such presumption; endeavouring, for the future, to reunite to your congregation those, whom your recent conduct has alienated and driven from it".—See the Life of St. Gregory the Great, by John the Deacon, lib. iii. cap. 27.

The letter of his successor, Gregory the 2nd, is to Leo the Isaurian, and is to be found in Baronius.

"Thou hast written," says he, "that 'things made with hands' are not to be adored; as God hath forbidden it, in Exodus. But tell me, who amongst our predecessors hath ever handed down the doctrine that 'things made by hands' of men are to be adored? But why, like an emperor and head of Christendom, hast thou not consulted the sage and well-instructed in sacred learning, as to the nature of those 'things made with hands' which are referred to by the divine commandment, before spreading disorder and confusion through the empire? Wherefore, since the sacred ordinances of the Church and of antiquity have no avail, we beseech thee, setting aside all arrogance and pride of heart, to listen with humble docility to an explanation which nothing but gross

That, however, we may not be stealing a march upon the right reverend prelate, and carrying his admissions beyond their fair and legitimate limits, we must needs state the

ignorance could render necessary. And may the Almighty bend thy mind to the truth by the efficacy of his words.

"Know, then, that it was on account of the idolators who occupied the land of promise that God issued this command; for they worshipped idols of gold, of silver, of brass, and of wood; adoring all sorts of animals, saying, 'These are our gods, and other god there is not.' Dedicated to the devil, execrable, and to be detested, these were the 'works of men's hands,' prohibited by the divine law; because we find, in the ordination of the worship appointed for his chosen people, by God himself, many things dedicated to the divine glory and service, that were made with hands. But the prevalence of idolatry in the land to which they were on their way, where the very air and soil were infected with it, rendered this warning indispensably necessary to guard the Israelites from being corrupted and seduced by bad example. It was the Lord himself who selected from the people Bezeleel and Eliale, of the tribe of Dan, (Exodus xxxi.) two men whom he blessed and sanctified for the express purpose of enabling them to produce 'handy-work' worthy to be used in his service and contribute to his glory. Again, he said to Moses, (Exodus xxxiv.) 'Cut two tables of stone and bring them to me;' and when he had cut them he carried them to the Lord, who with his own finger wrote on them the ten vivifying and immortal words. Again (Exodus xxv.) he orders the cherubim and seraphim to be made, and the table covered with gold on both sides, and the ark of incorruptible wood, in which the tables of the law, the rod, and the manna were to be placed. Are not these images and symbols made with hands? Yes, but it is to the glory and for the service of God they were made. Whenever we enter the temple of the holy Prince of the Apostles, and there look upon his picture, my beloved Saviour is our judge if tears do not shower from our eyes. Christ restored sight to the blind; but those who saw well thou hast blinded. Thou hast, as it were, drawn a film over the eyes of the poor, and by robbing them of the only books they can peruse, hast doomed them to sloth and indevotion in the churches. Thou sayest that stones, and canvass, and painted walls, are adored by us. Emperor, it is not as thou sayest; but that our memories may be assisted, that minds stolid, illiterate, and stupid, may be elevated and carried on high towards those whom these images represent: on these accounts it is we use them, and not as if we regarded them as deities—God forbid! for it is not in such things we hope.

"If it happen to be before our Lord's image we are praying, we say, 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, assist and save us;' but if it be before the image of his holy mother, we say, 'Holy Mother of God our Lord, intercede with thy Son, our only God and Saviour, that he bring us to everlasting life.' If it be a martyr,—'St. Stephen, who hast shed thy blood for Christ; O, thou, who as protomartyr, must stand high in favour with Him, pray for us.' And thus we offer our supplications through the martyrs, but we do not, as thou sayest, emperor, appeal to them as gods.

"But thou hast written,—'How comes it to pass that in the six great councils nothing is said about images?' For the same reason, O, emperor! that they have not said one word as to whether daily sustenance is to be taken or not; persuaded, no doubt, that tradition was sufficient on that subject. In like manner, the Church hath made use of images on the authority of tradition, as the example of the fathers themselves proved, who attended these councils wearing images on their persons; and no one with the true fervour of religion and the burning love of Christ, ever goes on a journey but with some sacred memorial of this kind."

exceptions which he makes,—contradictory and enigmatical as they appear to us,—against the Catholic use of tradition.

“The question,” says the right rev. prelate, “which concerns the right *interpretation* of the Articles, is intimately connected with that which relates to the *foundation* upon which they rest. *If we desire to prove whether the doctrine set forth in any Article be true, our single ultimate reference is to the written Word of God*, which we believe to contain all truths, a knowledge whereof is necessary to salvation ; and so to contain them, that by the diligent use of the ordinary means of instruction in the Church, and with prayer for God’s enlightening grace, they may be certainly discovered therein. This absolute completeness of the Holy Scriptures, as the source and proof of our faith, I hold to be a vital doctrine of our Reformed Church. It is our duty, in searching those inspired records, to avail ourselves of all the helps to a right understanding of them placed within our reach ; to ascertain, when it is possible, the sense in which they were understood by the disciples and immediate successors of the apostles, and which was derived from them to the early Church at large : to take the creeds received by the Church for our guides : but not to look to *them*, nor to traditions of any kind, as being so necessary, that Holy Scripture, without them, would not have been sufficient to teach all things requisite to salvation.

“I think it a mistaken and dangerous position to maintain, that without the creeds we could not have discovered for ourselves some of the great doctrines of our faith, that, for instance, of the Holy and Undivided Trinity. To suppose that the Spirit of God dictated the *materials* only of saving truth to be written by his inspired servants, while he communicated the right interpretation of them, *not* to be committed to writing till after a considerable period of time, is surely an hypothesis of the most unreasonable and improbable kind : yet this is the position which must ultimately be taken by those, who maintain that the Bible could not have been fully understood without the creeds. The creeds have indeed, *à priori*, a claim to our attention, as having been delivered to us by the Church : but they are entitled to our assent no further than as they are contained in Holy Scripture, or may be proved thereby. This is the ground upon which our own Church requires us to receive and believe the creeds, ‘that they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture.’ (Art. viii.) I set a very high value upon these ancient formularies of catholic belief : but I am firmly persuaded, that if no such formularies had ever been drawn out, all the essential doctrines of Christianity would have been discoverable in the Bible. *The implement with which the SECRETS of God are to be dug out of the mine of his written Word is not tradition ; but a plain, and rightly-informed understanding, guided by an honest and good heart, and aided by the Holy Spirit.*

“At the same time, *tradition is of excellent use in establishing*

historical facts, as, for example, the appointment of bishops to govern all the Churches, and of the Lord's day, as the day of public worship; the general prevalence of infant baptism, and some other points; in teaching us the *practical inferences*, drawn by the primitive Church from the truths declared in Holy Scripture, and so guiding us to its interpretation of Holy Scripture itself, such as the right of our Saviour to divine worship, and the implied assertion of a Trinity of Persons in the form of baptism; and in making us historically acquainted with the belief of that Church in general; with which belief if our own be found to coincide, we have not an absolute proof, but a very strong presumptive evidence, of its being indeed that *faith which was once delivered unto the saints*. (Jude iii.)—pp. 20-2.

We will not here stop to inquire how we are to reconcile the many irreconcilable propositions contained in this singular passage. Rule upon rule, one overlaying or contradicting the other,—the more especially when brought into juxtaposition with those which have preceded them. Their opposition is so pointedly manifest, that it were a waste of words to expose it. It would be “holding a farthing candle to the sun”; for it is as clear as noon-day. How are we to interpret for ourselves, and yet yield submission to the sense and will of the Church? If our investigation led us to the sense of the Church in some points, it would, after all, be mere hazard; for there are thousands who have discovered a different, perhaps the very opposite, meaning, in the same text; nay, do we not daily hear of antagonist interpretations of the very same article of her own “*ambiguous formularies*,” even amongst her own acknowledged children? While, to the sense of other points, the most laborious research could never conduct us; for the bishop himself avers, that for *them* there is no *most certain warrant* of holy Scripture. If, for example, he searches the Scriptures, to establish the validity of infant baptism, he is at fault at once, and must either remain outside the Church, or violate this his favourite principle to enable him to enter it. Finding himself in this dilemma, it becomes necessary that he should extricate himself from it; and how does he accomplish it? By adopting two rules,—one diametrically opposed to the other! One, to bring him within the pale of Christianity, and to enable him to believe certain high and fundamental points which have been incorporated with the formularies of his Church, in spite of her own rule which should exclude them,—giving colouring and authority to those articles which they have defined in a sense

which, by the other rule (the single ultimate reference to, and the personal interpretation of, the written word) they never could have had. So far the right reverend prelate is consistent in his inconsistency: he but follows the doctrine of his Church;—"Whatsoever is not read therein (in Holy Scripture), nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." "Furthermore, we must receive God's promises in such wise, as they be generally set forth to us in holy Scripture; and, in our doings, that will of God is to be followed, *which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God*"; and "although the Church be a witness and a keeper of holy writ, yet, as it ought not to decree anything against the same, so, *besides the same*, ought it not to enforce anything to be believed for necessity of salvation." And yet, with all this, it is decreed, that "the Church hath authority in *controversies of faith*"! In what controversies? Why, in this very controversy on infant baptism. This it decides, not only without any express declaration in Scripture, but even in apparent contradiction to Scripture! "*He who believeth and is baptized, HE shall be saved.*" How can an infant believe? Is not the belief to precede, or at least to accompany, the baptism?

While, therefore, they have this advantage in their double rule, that it extricates them from numerous dilemmas, it has likewise its countervailing inconvenience of throwing them into endless difficulties: and one is, that they who reflect and reason cannot by any possibility adopt them both. And this is peculiarly *our* case; seeing them in absolute contradiction one to the other, we must needs choose between them, and selecting one, we must take leave to show why we must abandon the other.

But not to enter at large upon the wide and luxuriant field into which we are carried by the above quotation, which, as we have already observed, is too evidently calculated for a double purpose—as a protest against the Catholic uses of tradition, and yet as an ingenious means of turning it to the account of Protestant interests, where and when it might seem to suit—we will content ourselves by putting a few more pertinent questions, as we consider them, in the hope of inducing the right reverend prelate to come forth from the labyrinth in which he seems so wilfully to have entangled himself, and in which—like the bird which hides

its head beneath its wing, and then fancies itself concealed, though the whole body be exposed to view—he would fain imagine that he was happily hidden from the penetrating rays of the inquiring minds of others, who may perchance have studied these questions as deeply as himself.

In the first place, we would take leave to ask the right reverend prelate, how he proves his rule BY his rule? How does he prove, *by a reference to the written Word of God*, that even “the creeds delivered to us by the Church are entitled to our assent no further than as they are contained in Holy Scripture, or may be proved thereby”? “This is the ground,” says he, “upon which our own Church *requires* us to receive and believe the creeds, that they may be proved by *most certain* warrants of holy Scripture.” Now, between the requirements of the Church on the one hand, and THE MOST CERTAIN warrants of holy Scripture on the other, we still venture to ask,—and we do so for our information,—upon what ground is it that the great saving truths of Christianity are received? If upon the authority of the Church, then the Church, and not the Scripture, is the supreme judge. If upon the authority of Scripture, we yet presume to demand upon what authority are the Scriptures themselves received? If upon the authority of the Church, then has the Church surely as good a right to interpret their true sense, as to determine their true wording, to substantiate their respective authenticity amidst the multitude of claims to similar honour, and to decide upon the nature and extent of their inspiration! For not one of these things, it is obvious and manifest to any reader of the Bible or of ecclesiastical history, is to be discovered and determined by *any most certain warrant of holy Scripture itself*. Is it any where asserted in the Scripture, that the Scriptures are an independent rule of faith? any where, that they are an incorruptible and unadulterated text, consisting of so much and no more? any where, that they are written under the peculiar inspiration of God, as a *most certain* warrant to guide us upon *all* controverted points? These simple questions, which occur to us at the first flush, must be answered satisfactorily, before we can either defer to the doctrine of the right reverend prelate, or understand the ground upon which he intends to take up his position, as the champion of orthodoxy.

But we have still another question,—for the further we advance, the less are we able to fathom or comprehend the precise rule by which the right reverend prelate would guide

us in our inquiries after truth—or, as he styles it, the secrets of God; for there certainly is, as he himself tells us, a right and a wrong interpretation of the articles, which yet are to be so readily proved by *most certain* warrants of holy Scripture. But “there’s the rub”;—how are these *most certain* warrants to be discovered, in *his* sense only, amongst the multitude of contradictory opinions which surround and puzzle us, all and each of them drawn as confidently, one as the other, from these self-same *MOST CERTAIN warrants of holy Scripture*? By tradition? “no,” says the Bishop; “we willingly run to tradition for her assistance, when we need it in support of those doctrines upon which we have no *most certain* warrant of holy Scripture, but which, notwithstanding, we have judged it proper to embody into our system; such, for example, as the appointment of bishops to govern all the Churches; and the Lord’s day, as the day of public worship; the general prevalence of infant baptism, and *some other points*, &c.—such, also, as the right of our Saviour to divine worship, and the *implied* assertion of a trinity of persons in the form of baptism. These, says he, we are content to take from tradition, because we cannot obtain them by any other means,—but this must be the exception, and not the rule. We will be beholden to her only for our own immediate and indispensable necessities,—she shall be no witness for aught but them. Yet presently espying his difficulty, seeing that he has woven an inextricable web, and yet that it must be unravelled before he can advance, time pressing, and no more ingenious contrivance coming to his aid, he valiantly cuts the knot, by boldly averring that we are to look neither to the creeds, “nor to traditions of any kind, as being *so* necessary, that holy Scripture, *WITHOUT THEM*, would not have been sufficient to teach *ALL* things requisite to salvation.” So that the government of the Church by bishops, the sanctification of the Lord’s day, the validity of infant baptism, the right of our Saviour to divine worship,* the belief of a trinity of persons in one God, are neither separately nor collectively essential portions of Christianity!!! To this singular catalogue of *small matters* in the faith and practice of a Christian, we must of ourselves add *one other point*, namely, the whole

* This is the first time we ever remember to have seen it asserted by a member of the Church of England, much less by one of her most dignified ministers, that “The right of our Saviour to Divine worship” rested upon tradition only. Is the bishop reading with Socinian eyes, that he finds a difficulty in proving the Divinity of our Saviour from the Scriptures? Surely, the Divinity proved, the right to Divine worship follows of course.

canon of holy Scripture, with its authenticity and inspiration; for if this be not received and held through tradition and the authority of the Church, the whole ground and stay of Christianity will slip through the right rev. prelate's meshes, and vanish into air: for, in default of tradition and the authority of the Church, both of which he so ingenuously and consistently throws overboard, he has no other resource but to fall back upon his single, ultimate reference, "the written word of God,—the most certain warrants of holy Scripture;" and, where the warrant is for *this*, we defy either the learning or ingenuity of the right reverend prelate, or that of all the controvertists who have preceded him, or who may perchance follow him in the same track, to discover.

We must presume also that, amongst the *other points* to which the right reverend prelate alludes, as being not to be *proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture*,—though he has had the discretion not to name it (as if he had forgotten it to be one of the *true doctrines of the Church of England agreeable to God's word*,* to which he has so solemnly subscribed), is that which invests the civil sovereign with the power to rule "all states and degrees whether they be *ecclesiastical* or temporal," and which, by the statutes of the 26 Hen. VIII, the 1 Ed. VI, and the 1 Eliz. means, that "The royal majesty is justly supreme head on earth of the Church of England, and hath full authority to correct and punish all manner of heresies, schisms, errors, abuses, &c., which by any manner of *spiritual* authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, &c.; and, that whatever privileges and *spiritual* preeminences had been heretofore in use, by any ecclesiastical authority whatsoever, should be for ever annexed to the imperial crown of England; that the queen and her successors might substitute certain men to exercise that authority: howbeit with proviso, that they should define nothing to be heresy, but those things which were *long before* defined to be heresies, out of the sacred canonical Scriptures, or the four first Ecumenical councils, or *other councils*, BY THE TRUE AND PROPER SENSE of the *holy Scriptures*; or should thereafter be so defined by *authority of Parliament*, with assent of the clergy of England assembled in synod."—*Camden, An. 1559, and the statutes.*

It is not for us to reconcile the modified language of the thirty-seventh Article with these positive and explicit decla-

* His Majesty's declaration prefixed to the articles.

rations of the statutes. Suffice it here to say, that an act of Parliament is paramount over every other authority recognized in these realms! a point clear from this very act, which was passed, nine bishops out of fourteen (all who were then living) "stiffly repugning it," and no synod assenting to it; while we will take leave also to remind the bishop that it ever has been questioned—as it was by Sampson, when offered a bishopric in 1560—"whether it was lawful to swear to the queen, as supreme head of the Church under Christ;" *because*, as he observed, "*he thought Christ was the sole head of the Church, and no such expression of any inferior head was found in the Scripture.*"*

How marvellously does the right reverend prelate amuse himself and his hearers with enigmas! Tradition is likewise of use, he asserts, in making us *historically acquainted with the belief of the ancient Church in general*. But what object has he in becoming *historically acquainted with the belief of the Church in general*, unless he will allow it to guide him in his *own* belief? and yet this he most consistently declares he will not; he will dig and dive for himself, in another mine, and make *the written word of God his SINGLE ULTIMATE REFERENCE*. We venture to suggest, then, that the Right Reverend Prelate spare himself the trouble of his historical investigations; for he is predetermined not to avail himself of their helps to a right understanding of the sense in which Christianity was understood by the disciples and immediate successors of the apostles. His *single, ultimate reference*, is HIS OWN JUDGMENT AND HIS OWN OPINION. Where tradition and *his opinion* clash, it requires no seer to predict which of the two shall be driven to the wall. The Bishop has already

* Burnet, Ann. 1560.

The scripture references in defence of the 37th article, are so exceedingly wide of the mark, that, referring one and all so completely and exclusively as they do to the *civil* power, it is extraordinary that a Church, *professing* to have every thing from *most certain* warrants of holy scripture, should ever have thought of putting them forward in support of their power ecclesiastical, which, put it as you will, if there be any meaning in words or deeds, (and we refer to all the ancient acts for our assertion) convey a real *spiritual* authority, and *spiritual jurisdiction*, to the first civil magistrate of the realm, in his or her quality, as supreme head, or chief governor of the Church. The texts above referred to did not satisfy Sampson in 1560, and why should they satisfy Dr. Bloomfield in 1842? for the act of Elizabeth expressly provides and enacts, (clause xxxv.) "that no manner of order, act, or determination for any matter of religion, or cause ecclesiastical, had or made by the authority of the present Parliament, shall be accepted, deemed, interpreted, or adjudged, at any time hereafter, to be any *error*, heresy, schism or schismatical opinion, any order, decree, sentence, constitution or law, whatsoever the same be, to the contrary notwithstanding." So that the acts must interpret the articles, and not the articles the acts.

determined that. And it is for him to consider whether he so determines it by that courtly rule, so much in vogue at one period of our history, that "disputations concerning religion do always bend that way as the sceptres incline."

But, as we are wearying both ourselves and our readers with the repetition of these oft-refuted fallacies and contradictions, and as we have pledged ourselves to be content merely to ask a few simple questions, without dilating upon the arguments arising from them (difficult as it may be to pass on through the throng of tempting matter which presses on us), we will not now undertake to consider what was the doctrine of primitive antiquity upon these points; we will satisfy ourselves by citing—with one slight alteration, which we consider very materially to improve the reading,—a few words already quoted from this celebrated charge: "To suppose," says the writer, "that the Spirit of God dictated the *materials* only of saving truth to be written by his inspired servants, while He failed to commit the right interpretation of them, (to some competent authority) is surely an hypothesis of the most unreasonable and improbable kind;" and this we find also to have been the conviction of all the fathers and doctors of the Church, beginning with St. Irenæus in the second century, whose decision upon this point we have already seen in one of the foregoing quotations, dictated after the saving truths contained in the Scriptures had been committed to writing, and when engaged in combating the heresies of *his* time, which were, equally with those of ours, ever attempted to be supported by this same ultimate reference to the inspired penmen.

But arguments that were plain and convincing to the simple minds of earnest and obedient Christians in the early and apostolic ages,—and be it remembered, that St. Irenæus had lived with St. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John the Evangelist,—fall like so many blunted arrows against the thicker understandings of modern men, verifying, we presume, the words of our Saviour, who praised his Father, the Lord of heaven and earth, because He had hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and had revealed them to little ones.

We had really thought to have dismissed this part of the subject here; but on casting our eyes back upon the rule laid down by the bishop for discovering "the secrets of God," "the essential doctrines of Christianity," we cannot forbear one or two more observations, because we conceive them necessary to complete our defence against what we are vain enough to believe has been principally aimed at ourselves. "The implement,"

says the right rev. prelate, "with which the *secrets* of God are to be dug out of the mine of his written word, is not tradition; but a plain and rightly informed understanding, guided by an honest and good heart, and aided by the Holy Spirit." Now, the first question which presents itself to our mind is, Is this the grave and deliberate opinion of a doctor and bishop of the Church of England, who believes that his Church *hath authority in controversies of faith*, under whatever modifications? or is it the sudden and heated effusion of a fanatical dissenting minister? For is it not the language of Wicliff and of Huss, of Penn and of Wesley, and of all the multifarious followers of that great heresiarch? though Wesley died as true a member of the Church of England as is Bishop Bloomfield! Nay, is it not the very principle adopted by Luther, and Calvin, and Knox, and Fox, and every separate leader of a separate heresy, from the days in which the Church had first to contend against the attacks of her rebellious children, grown impatient of restraint, down to these prolific ages of sectarianism, in which creeds spring up at the bidding of every trader in religion? If this be the "implement" by which the Thirty-nine Articles are to be dug out of the mine of the written word, we beg to surmise that the search will be as wild and fruitless as that of the prince who toiled up the stony sides of the Black Mountain, in pursuit of the speaking bird, the golden water, and the singing tree; and that the seeker for these secret treasures of God has just as much chance of lighting upon the philosopher's stone as upon the doctrines of the Church of England, still less upon those of the right rev. prelate. Indeed we question not that the deeper he goes, the greater will be his obscurity; for certain it is that the lights of *his* doctrine will not shine amidst the darkness in which he will find himself involved; and he may be glad to return to the twilight regions he has left behind, and into which he entered the moment he commenced the search.

Heaven knows that we have reason to rejoice at, and God grant that we may sufficiently appreciate, the immense blessing which the contrary doctrine—for it is precisely the contrary that is the doctrine of the Catholic Church—confers upon its professors; for they who believe with the ancient Fathers, that the Church of Christ is founded upon a rock, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it;* that Christ is with those to whom He entrusted the commission of teaching all days, even to the consummation of the world; that the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth, abides for ever with the

* St. Matt. xvi, 18.

Ibid. xxviii 18, 19, 20.

Church,* the Church of the living God, the pillar and the ground of the truth;† are thereby no longer exposed like children to be tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the wickedness of men, by cunning craftiness, by which they lie in wait to deceive;‡ nor to become the victims to error and to pride, because of those things which are hard to be understood, and which the unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, to their own destruction.§ Not only are they preserved from these great and afflicting dangers, but they are at the same time secured in the enjoyment of a firm and steadfast faith.

But we can hardly dismiss this part of the subject without some few illustrations.

Fox, for example, the celebrated founder of the Quakers, was precisely of the same opinion as Bishop Bloomfield: he was "firmly persuaded that if no such formularies (as the creeds) had ever been drawn out, all the essential doctrines of Christianity would have been discoverable in the Bible." Fox had no companion but the Bible, no interpreter but the aid of the Holy Spirit, no qualification but a plain and (as he and as hundreds of thousands of others believed with him) a rightly informed understanding; but then he was more consistent than the Bishop, and never attempted to supply his deficiencies, by artfully enlisting in his cause a whole creed of doctrines drawn from other sources. He neither believed in the validity of infant, nor indeed of any other baptism; nor in the sanctification of the Sunday;|| nor in the government of the Church by bishops; nor indeed in any Church government at all; nor in the Trinity; nor in the right of our Saviour to any worship, but the worship of the spirit; nor in *some other points*, such as the Lord's Supper,—rejecting all other communion but the communion of hearts. All these he discarded from his symbol of faith, because his *plain* understanding could not discover them in the Bible; and we must own that, in so doing, he has evinced, upon the whole, more consistency than has the Bishop of London in adopting them; *while both maintain the same rule of faith*. Penn also taught, with the Bishop of London, "that nothing more was required to be believed than the *fundamental* articles of the Christian religion; that is, those truths which are so clearly expressed in the sacred Scripture, as to be easily

* St. John, xiv. 16, 26.

† 1 Tim. iii. 14, 15.

‡ Ephes. iv. 11, 12, 14.

§ 2 Pet. iii. 15, 16, 17.

|| For though the Quakers meet regularly every Sunday, it is but for convenience and decency sake, and not out of a principle of sanctifying that day in particular, since they profess to keep no holidays of any sort.

understood by each particular person." Yet Penn did not believe any one of those which the Bishop of London believes, though they both start from the same point, both draw their faith from the same sources, and both pretend to have discovered the truest system of Christian theology.*

Barclay, the famous apologist and theologian of Quakerism, speaking of the Scriptures, and their use and their interpretation, thus defines *his* rule: "Nevertheless, because they are only a declaration of the *fountain*, and not the *fountain* itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the *adequate primary rule of faith and manners*. Nevertheless, as that which giveth a true and faithful testimony of the first foundation, they are and may be esteemed a *secondary rule, subordinate* to the *spirit*, from which they have all their excellency and certainty; for as by the inward testimony of the spirit we do alone truly know them, so they testify that the spirit is that guide by which the saints are led into *all truth*. Therefore, according to the Scriptures, the spirit is the first and principal leader." "Moreover, these divine inward revelations, which we make absolutely necessary for the building up of true faith, neither do nor can ever contradict the outward testimony of the Scriptures, or right and sound reason. Yet from hence it will not follow, that these divine revelations are to be subjected to the examination, either of the outward testimony of the Scriptures, or of the natural reason of man, as to a more noble or certain rule or touchstone: for this divine revelation and inward illumination is that which is evident and clear of itself; forcing, by its evidence and clearness, the *well-disposed understanding* to assent, irresistibly moving the same thereunto; even as the common principles of natural truths move and incline the mind to a natural assent."† Can the reader fail to be struck with the coincidence between the rule of Bishop Bloomfield and that of the anti-episcopalian, unitarian Barclay? And yet this latter discovers—not one of Bishop Bloomfield's "secret treasures," but the monstrous opinion laid down in his eleventh proposition, that to worship the Almighty in any prescribed form, as in a liturgy, is but *abominable idolatry in the sight of God!*

Was it not the same with the Puritans? The symbol of faith, and the bond of union with the Brownist and Barrowist Puritans was,—“I declare that I will walk with you as long

* Barclay's famous defence of the Quakers was entitled *Theologia vere Christianæ Apologia*.

† Second Proposition.

as you walk in the way of the Lord, and as far as *the word of God will warrant it to be requisite.*" Is not then the Bishop of London a Barrowist? and yet Barrow was hanged for his opinions in 1592; while two of his predecessors in these principles were put to death, in 1583, for publishing libels against the English liturgy,—the liturgy now in use by the Bishop of London! And are there not millions in this very island, in this very day, who are firmly persuaded that Barrow was gifted with as *plain and rightly-formed an understanding* as Bishop Bloomfield? and *therefore* do they reject episcopacy, deny the validity of the sacraments when administered by an Anglican minister, disallow the virtue of ordinations, &c., and roundly assert, that "the laws of the kingdom, and the authority of the sovereign, have introduced many innovations into the Church, and added to the religion established by Christ several customs which cannot be maintained with any colour of justice; and that the religious worship (of the Church of England) was disfigured by palpable and shameful errors."*

These views it is, too, which, after knocking under to the civil power for some centuries, and forming a solemn compact with it for their mutual advantage and protection, have now induced the Kirk of Scotland to reassert her former principles in all their integrity, and to insist upon her emancipation from the thralldom of the state. And what right has the Bishop of London to gainsay *them*, or to presume that *his* understanding is more rightly informed than was Barrow's, Fox's, or Penn's, as long as he adheres to the rule by which *they* were, one and all, governed? For it is but a shallow artifice, nay, the height of absurdity, to give us a rule, and then immediately to qualify it by injunctions which utterly frustrate its operation,—for if we are to believe the doctrines of the Church of England, and to subscribe to her articles, and yet dive into the mine of Scripture for them, where the Bishop himself tells us they are *not* to be found, is not the rule entirely overlaid and abrogated?

Let us yet consider this matter a little further. Burnet, speaking of the Anabaptists, says,—“Upon Luther's first preaching in Germany, there arose many, who, building on some of his principles, carried things much further than he did. The chief foundation he laid down was, *that the Scripture was to be the only rule of Christians.* Upon this many argued, that the mysteries of the Trinity, and Christ's incarnation and sufferings, of the fall of man, and the aids of grace, were indeed philosophical subtleties, and only *pretended*

* Religious Ceremonies, vol. 6. Art. Presbyterians.

to be deduced from Scripture, as almost all *opinions* of religion were; and THEREFORE *they rejected them*. Among these, the baptism of infants was one," &c. (*Hist. of Reform.* A. 1549) But that such principles, and such errors, might not run riot in England, as they were doing in Germany, Cranmer, and Ridley the bishop of London of that day, forced the young king Edward, sorely indeed against his will, to sign the death warrant of Joan of Kent for holding the doctrines which she, in conformity with these new opinions, *pretended* to deduce from Scripture, while bishop Scory "preached at her burning"! And yet could bishop Bloomfield, with any consistency, even have objected to her that she was wrong? for she only interpreted Scripture with a plain, and as she thought, and as thousands think still, with a rightly-informed understanding. Henry's six articles, too, which were every one of them sound Catholic doctrine, and to which Cranmer was a reluctantly assenting party, with seventeen other bishops, and which, "after much consultation and long debating were agreed to," were also declared to be the result of this same principle of "reforming all by the rules of Scripture, and that nothing was to be maintained that did not rest on that authority." (Burnet.) Though Cranmer, that pattern of piety and pink of orthodoxy, as he seems to be esteemed by bishop Bloomfield, was grievously suspected at that very time of not believing them, and was evidently drawing off from them only a few years afterwards, when, in 1549, his *new* liturgy was introduced, with this recommendation, that it had been "concluded on with one *uniform* agreement, by the archbishop of Canterbury, and other learned and *discreet* bishops and divines, *by the aid of the Holy Ghost*," though four of the said bishops protested against it! That which was impiously said to have been inspired by the Holy Ghost in 1549, was new-modelled and arranged by the very same theologians in 1552, upon entirely new views, though upon the very same principles, and if we are to believe them, under the very same guidance; but not even then being quite right, it received its last touch with several amendments, and its last change by several omissions, at the hands of new men, acting under new yet equally sacred illuminations,—though still under the same old principle,—at the final settlement of the 39 articles in 1562!

Cromwell had told the convocation which passed the six articles, amongst other things, "that it was absurd, since the Scripture was acknowledged to contain the laws of religion, that recourse should rather be had to glosses, or the decrees

of popes, than to these;" while "Cranmer, in a long and learned speech, showed how useless these niceties of the schools were, and of how little authority they ought to be; and discoursed largely on the authority of the Scriptures, . . . of the uncertainty of tradition," &c.; and when published, the advocates of the reformation "rejoiced to see the Scriptures, and the ancient creeds, made the standards of the faith, without mentioning tradition or the decrees of the Church. Then the foundation of Christian faith was truly stated, and the terms of the covenant between God and man in Christ were rightly opened," &c.* Thus early did the new rule begin to show itself, when once the ancient usage was broken in upon; though they who used it did not yet *rightly understand* its application: this the more thorough-going spirits among them fully felt; but it was so strange to most men, so utterly at variance with long-cherished prepossessions, so different to what they had been heretofore authoritatively taught, that it was no wonder if it required a long and tedious process of development before it came to maturity. In its former comparatively partial and insignificant trials, it had already puzzled all by whom it had been adopted, —more especially when it was attempted to regulate it by another rule which was to curb and clog it, and in fact to supersede it—a rule which serving, in one shape or other, for every sect, however differently they use it, will still continue to puzzle them to the end of time, as bishop Bloomfield might indeed have discovered before he again recommended it for adoption.

Having advanced thus far in our strictures, we were in hopes that our labours had been nearly concluded, when, alas! to our dismay and disappointment, in page 49 we stumble upon another astounding assertion, that "honours are paid in the Church of Rome to DEIFIED SINNERS"!—and again we are summoned forth to our defence. DEIFIED SINNERS!!! There is at least no phraseology here—no courtly insinuation of some deep, mysterious, but unintentional error—no mincing of the matter, but an out-and-out accusation, "an uncompromising assertion" of downright idolatry—"a practice," says he, "which began in poetry, and ended in idolatry." As we shall have occasion to show again, the right reverend prelate observes no measure in his wrath—he dwells in "the whirlwind of passion," not in the temperature of reason. Such ebullitions "may make the unskilful laugh," but they

* Burnet, Ann. 1536.

will also make "the judicious grieve;" the bigot, however, will chuckle in his ignorance, and be confirmed in his error. We have already touched upon the case—we now only meet it with a flat denial, declare it to be a detestable calumny, and demand *proof* to the contrary.

"The unspeakable abominations" of the Church of Rome, "that system of corruption and tyranny, which is still maintained by Rome in theory, and as far as circumstances will permit, in practice also,"—"her deadly errors,"—"GUILTY OF SCHISM, if not of apostacy," having "forsaken the true faith, and defiled herself with superstition and idolatry,"—such is the prologue to the *denouement* of the piece, so charitably imagined, and so happily expressed, in the following terse and pithy sentence :

"And let us speak all the more plainly, seeing that she again employs, as her chosen defenders and emissaries, a society of men, bound together by a vow to uphold by all methods, and at all hazards, not Christianity, but Popery; and who, in accordance with that vow, have framed and carried out a system, so hideous in its principles, so mischievous in its effects, that it well deserves to be described as having embodied the very 'mystery of iniquity.'

"The Church of Rome has added to and debased the apostolical 'form of sound words;' has superseded the apostolical succession; has mutilated and corrupted the apostolical communion..... Its errors are not less opposed to Gospel truth and holiness now, than they were at the time of the Reformation. The doctrines and practices which rendered necessary our separation from that Church, are still retained by her, unchanged, unmitigated, unqualified; nor are the differences between us *in essential matters*, less at the present moment, than they were in the times of Cranmer or of Jewel, of Taylor or of Bull."—*Charge*, pp. 59, 60.

Verily we should be "duller than the fat weed that rots itself in ease on Lethe's wharf, did we not stir at this."

Yet we know not whether we are more moved by wonder than by indignation,—wonder, that in the nineteenth century any man should be found, with pretensions to learning, with character and reputation to maintain, and with a cause to advocate, and yet so deluded, so insensible to all that was passing around him, so reckless of consequences, as to fall back upon all the exploded calumnies and fabrications of a period, when the frenzy of the fanatic, the fears of the timid, and the interest of the selfish, combined to misrepresent and falsify all that was considered opposed to them on the one hand, or that it was determined to destroy on the other. Why! there is the testimony of the whole world

against him, of all the saints and sages, the heroes and the martyrs of Christianity, the concurrent voice of ages, the united evidence of the great company of the faithful from one generation to another, now and at all times, to hurl back with indignant defiance the atrocious crimes of which we are accused. We give him the feelings and convictions, and solemn assertions of individuals; we give him the deliberative and authoritative decisions of the Church, as our defence,—but no, says he, you are all hypocrites and prevaricators,—the doctrines which you profess have a *tendency* to superstition and idolatry; I insist upon it, that you are guilty of both, because it suits me to assert it; it is a doctrine necessary for these times, because it is the best argument I can use to deter my wavering subjects from deserting their ranks and going over to you.*

But we have been hurried away from the subject more immediately before us, from that “ingenious device,” which the right reverend prelate, maugre his love of truth and justice, has not scrupled to employ against us.

The society of the Jesuits, like all other institutions, is matter of history, and is a fair and open field for investigation. But when the most sweeping and crushing accusations are levelled against its members and its system, without even the ordeal of enquiry, and are presumed to be triumphantly established by the mere assertion under the sanction of a great name, backed, it is true, by some long-exploded historical evidence, in the form of a very scanty appendix, *we*, whose peculiar and proper province it is to investigate before we pronounce, may perhaps find it more difficult than others quietly and confidently to acquiesce in the verdict, or rather to suppress our astonishment at such a course. Neither are we quite sure that in yielding to the temptation, the bishop’s zeal has not outstripped his judgment; his object runs no small chance, we deem it, of being frustrated in the outset—the fury of the blow often warps the aim—for the haste and heat with which the sentence of condemnation is here pro-

* To show how early this doctrine of *tendencies* was enlisted into controversy, and employed to substantiate this same accusation of idolatry, we will cite the charge of the Unitarian Praxeas, in the second century, who declaimed against the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, because, as he said, *it would lead to idolatry*. The doctrine of tendencies is a mere fanciful theory, and may be employed with a plausibility of reasoning against every dogma of Christianity: it comes from this, that people mistake Christianity for a system of *opinions*, instead of a series of *facts*. The question should ever be, has the doctrine been revealed by God, and promulgated by his Church? If that be proved, we must receive it without further reasoning or enquiry.

nounced against the whole Society, savours too much of human passion not to lack somewhat of holy wisdom.

It is therefore much more to mark the character of the charge, than from any necessity of defending the Society from such attacks as these (to which indeed they must be as calous as they are familiar), that we have noted the circumstance at all; and by way of recommending to the learned prelate to be a little more cautious in future how he assails, with old rusty weapons, long since laid up in ordinary, and excluded from all legitimate warfare, men who are as much his superiors in Christian charity, as they are in theological learning; a society which alone has gained more converts to the faith of Christ than all the Protestant missionaries together; which has added so many illustrious saints to the calendar, whom Protestantism may emulate in vain; and which has given so many sons to science, and so many martyrs to the Church. It is indeed, to all intents and purposes, useless, as far as the generality of our readers are concerned, to say one word upon the matter. For others, the most lengthened disquisition that our space could afford would not suffice for the purpose. We shall therefore merely put it to the common sense of mankind, to say whether they deem it possible, that this celebrated society—consisting at its dissolution of twenty thousand individuals, certainly above the ordinary level in natural abilities, and very far indeed superior to it in moral and intellectual attainments, actively occupied in every portion of the world in the interests of science, religion, and humanity—could have been composed of materials such as the right rev. prelate has described? or, having been so constituted, and having consequently fallen under the weight of its own iniquity, and been utterly crushed and annihilated beneath the scorn, contempt, and indignation of outraged virtue, it should within the short space of a few years (its crimes still fresh in our memories) have again risen from its ashes, and already, in part, regained its former ascendancy in the religious and literary world? That they who were regicides by principle should be again the fostered children of kings! that they whose moral code undermined morality, should be again the favourite directors of tender consciences, and the trustworthy instructors of youth! and that they who have once let in a flood of iniquity upon the world, should now be employed to stem it! All this is too monstrous for belief, unless it fall upon a true Bœotian intellect (which we cannot reconcile with the Attic sprightliness of the right rev. prelate's), or unless it find its sustenance

amongst the dark but luxuriant shades of bigotry. Yet that such notions do now and then spring up innocently enough in the minds of some, from mere stupidity, or indifference to their truth, we will proceed to show, by an instance from which indeed the right rev. prelate may himself have taken example, and which deserves to be exposed and refuted, both on account of the better company in which it has chanced to find itself, and from the influence which, upon that title, it may exert over the ignorant or unwary. Even the respectable Ranke, a man who frequently sins through ignorance, but never, we verily believe, through malice, in his interesting *History of the Popes of the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries*, has been strangely led into the expression of sentiments, relative to the Society, nearly approaching to those of the learned author of the charge. It may serve also as a warning even to the best of us, not to be carried away by hasty and superficial judgments, and as an example of how huge a superstructure may be raised upon the most flimsy foundation.

Speaking of the constitution of the society, Ranke says, "But there is yet another constitution (c. vi. 5) *by which even the commission of sin may be commanded.* 'Visum est nobis in Domino, nullas constitutiones, declarationes, vel ordinem ullum vivendi posse obligationem ad peccatum mortale vel veniale inducere, nisi superior ea in nomine Domini Jesu Christi, vel in virtute obedientiae juberet.' One can hardly believe one's eyes when one reads such things!" (Note to p. 298, vol. i. French ed.) But what things are they? Why, simply this, that the ordinary rules of the house were not binding under pain of sin, *unless the superior should order it otherwise in virtue of obedience*;—that is, the society in its ordinary condition was governed by certain rules and regulations, which there was much merit and advantage in observing, as conducive to good order and regularity, edification, &c. But St. Ignatius, not desiring to impose too heavy a yoke upon his followers, left them free in all matters which did not militate against their three vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. If they observed the rule and order of living which was prescribed, so much the better; but if not, there was no sin in the infraction, *unless the superior stood upon his authority, and enforced it as a duty of obedience.* Nothing more reasonable in itself, or more simply or clearly expressed in the constitutions. But Ranke saw through a discoloured medium, misconstrued his Latin, and was perhaps happy in the mistake. Still it was unpardonable in him to make it.

For, however it might seem at first sight to the inexperienced and unpracticed eye, yet Ranke, with a mind accustomed to reason, must have seen sufficient in the very constitutions from which he quotes, and in St. Ignatius's letter on obedience, which he quotes also, to have given him a strong suspicion that he was in error. These ought to have convinced him, indeed, that no such interpretation *could* be put upon the passage, let the words stand as they would, seeing that such interpretation was at direct variance with the context. Among the very rules upon which he grounds this crying accusation, he must have seen, 1°. "But also they must endeavour to be resigned interiorly, and to have a true abnegation of their own will and judgment; conforming their will and judgment wholly to the superior's will and judgment, *in all things where there appears no sin.*" (Rule 31.) 2°. And in St. Ignatius's letter on obedience to the fathers in Portugal, to which he likewise refers, he must have seen also the following quotation from St. Bernard: "Whether God, or man his substitute, command anything, we must obey with equal diligence, and perform it with like reverence, *provided man commands nothing that is contrary to God.*"* And 3°. in the same letter: "Wherefore this manner of subjecting our understanding, so as, without questioning, to sanction, and command within ourselves whatsoever the superior commands, is not only a common practice amongst holy men, but also to be imitated by all who are desirous of perfect obedience, *in all things where manifestly there appears no sin.*"

How Ranke could see all this, and yet fall into the egregious blunder he has committed, can, we apprehend, only be accounted for by the blindness of prejudice. And it must indeed have been a strange delusion that could so far rob him of his reason, as to induce him to believe that in constitutions so carefully and cautiously drawn up, one rule should not only so pointedly contradict the other, but should also utterly belie the solemnly-expressed opinions of their author. Could a society so celebrated for its prudence, and, as some would say, for its cunning, so far forget itself as to publish to an inquisitive and censorious world, a code of laws so wholly offensive to religion and morality, which it was their professed object to promote, and which must assuredly and most justly, expose it to the indignation and execration of mankind, and thus damn itself in its very infancy? Is it possible he could have reasoned otherwise? There was more

* Summary of the Rules of the Society, pp. 20 & 82. American ed. Washington.

than enough to create suspicion, suspicion demanded inquiry, and inquiry would have corrected his mistake. Why! there was not a child in Rome who would not have told him it was a falsehood. The very stones ought to have risen up in judgment against him, as he beheld before him those splendid monuments wherein the princes, prelates, and people, of that eternal city, have so nobly recorded their sense of the piety, charity, and virtue of the illustrious disciples of the blessed Ignatius of Loyola.

The right rev. prelate may seek his palliation in the pages of Ranke, but he should remember that we expect some better evidence for our conviction, than a mere repetition of the errors which the ignorance or malevolence of others have bequeathed us; and that the justice of *one* generation may suffice to rectify the slanders of the many which have preceded it.

But we have not yet done with the right reverend prelate and his friends the Jesuits. We have already glanced at the appendix, we must now refer to it in good earnest, for, on a second perusal, we question whether it may not be worth the while. It is, indeed, a precious specimen of historical evidence! After reciting the atrocious calumnies heaped upon the Jesuits by the parliaments of Paris of 1761-2,—and no doubt a short meditation thereon—the right reverend prelate's zeal is so warmed, and his indignation so roused, that he exclaims, "Yet this is the order which was re-established, together with the Inquisition, by Pope Pius VII, whose predecessor Clement XIV had described them as *hostes humani generis*: and this is the order which directs the education of a great part of the people of Ireland, and of many of the sons of the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry in England. For fuller information respecting the Jesuits the reader may consult *Les Jésuites tels qu'ils ont été*, or the *Collectio Opusculorum*, Bremæ, 1798, tom i. p. 677."

As a set off against these arrêts of the parliaments of Paris, we must refer the right reverend prelate to a short but highly interesting defence of the order, entitled *A New Disquisition, Philosophical and Political, concerning the Society of the Jesuits, &c.* where he will see a long list of historical testimonies in *favour* of the society, "from Henry IV of France, Louis XIV, Catherine II, Richelieu, Cardinal de Fleury, Bossuet, Bacon, Leibnitz, several parliaments, who took up the defence of the Jesuits about the time of their suppression, Clement XIII, and the French clergy, who vehemently

protested against the suppression of the order," &c. ; and, if this do not *convince* him that he has relied too much upon the *ex parte* statements of others, we would strongly recommend to his perusal *The New Conspiracy by Dallas*, and even a still more extended defence of the order.*

It becomes, indeed, the duty of rational beings, who have adopted erroneous impressions, upon which they *act* in their conduct towards their neighbour (indeed it is due to themselves), to erase such impressions by the substitution of others more conformable to truth and justice ; and where a man has studied but *one* side, and that one side guided, as he must necessarily feel, by no very impartial mind, he may be morally certain that, however strong his convictions, he is positively and radically wrong.

Such, then, and we state it with unwavering confidence, is the character of those premises, and, consequently, of the convictions flowing from them, which have drawn forth the energetic and opportune denunciations which we have already quoted. Let us consider them a little nearer still. "Yet this is the order which Clement XIV had described as *hostes humani generis* !" enemies of the human race ! It is certainly rather a harsh expression from the common father of the faithful towards any indeed of the children confided to his paternal solicitude, when exhorting them in accents of friendly admonition, in the cause of peace and charity, but more especially towards a body of men very peculiarly subject to, and devoted to the Holy See,—lending all their energies, in whatever direction he chose to employ them, for the extension of the kingdom of Christ, of which he was the supreme head upon earth, which was so solemnly entrusted to his charge, and of which so awful an account would one day be demanded of him. Being, therefore, somewhat incredulous as to the *fact*, we gave ourselves the trouble of running through the brief of Clement, decreeing the immediate extinction of the order, and from which alone, of course, we could imagine the right reverend prelate to have selected the passage. The expression, indeed, is there, though *very differently* applied. Will the reader believe that, instead of the Jesuits, the pope refers to *his Satanic majesty*, whom he very properly designates by that significant and well merited term—the ancient enemy of the human race ?!!!

The only ground upon which the pontiff rests the extreme

* Documents Historiques, &c. concernant la Compagnie de Jesus. 3 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1827-1830.

exercise of his sovereign spiritual authority over the institute of St. Ignatius, is the prudence which it became necessary for him to employ towards the various states of Europe, which had solicited the suppression of the order at his hands. The violent contests between the enemies and the friends of the society, in which, as a matter of course, the society must needs, more or less, take part, together with the imprudent conduct of some few individual members, had created so high an excitement, that it seemed to many, and, amongst others, to Clement XIV, that their extinction was a necessary sacrifice to the peace of the Church. The brief is altogether silent upon the merits, and nearly so upon the demerits of the order; but, in the particular passage which contains the fatal and deliberative judgment of Clement, which (according to the right reverend prelate) was to consign them to posterity, covered with infamy to the latest generation, and for ever bow them down to the earth with the weight of their own dishonour, the sovereign pontiff is actually giving the world a lecture upon CHARITY *towards them*; illustrating it with that apt and beautiful text from St. James: "Who is a wise man, and endued with knowledge among you? Let him show by a good conversation his work in the meekness of wisdom. But if you have bitter zeal, and there be contentions in your hearts: glory not, and be not liars against the truth. For this is not wisdom, descending from above: but earthly, sensual, diabolical."* And calling upon all mankind to cease their troubles, contentions, and divisions, "He who loves his neighbour," says he, "has fulfilled the law. Let him, then, avoid and hold in detestation all UNJUST REPROACHES, hatred, quarrels, craftiness, and such like expedients, by which THE ANCIENT ENEMY OF THE HUMAN RACE is wont to trouble the peace of the household of God, and to hinder the eternal salvation of the faithful," &c.†

The holy father had just before forbidden all, under pain of excommunication, to injure, by any means whatever, but more particularly by contumelious invective, either by word of mouth or in writing, in public or in private, any one whomsoever, UNDER COVER OF THIS BRIEF OF SUPPRESSION, but *more especially all members of the said society!* Thus, so far from giving any countenance whatsoever to the conduct of

* Chap. iii. 13, 14, 15.

† "Nam qui diligit proximum, legem implevit, summo prosequens odio offensiones, simulates, jurgia, invidias, aliaque hujusmodi ab antiquo humani generis hoste excogitata, inventa, et excitata ad Ecclesiam Dei perturbandam," &c.

the right reverend prelate, placing him under his high displeasure for offending against the injunctions he had laid down in the name of charity.*

Verily, we cannot but marvel with what ingenious facility these teachers, *par excellence*, of that good and wholesome doctrine, that *the end doth not justify the means*, do devise *their* means of carrying out *their* ends. More especially have we observed this, when the design has not been in the most strict accordance with the injunctions of the apostle, "Let not, then, our good be evil spoken of;" while men seem driven to seek their own reputations in the ruin of others; and when one really might find occasion to suspect that the arch inventor and instigator of evil might not be wholly a stranger to the scheme. However strong the provocation, we cannot nevertheless work up our minds to believe that the right reverend prelate has, in this instance, fallen under the temptation, *wilfully* to corrupt and misapply his quotation: we must charitably presume that he has only decked himself with borrowed plumes, and fights with weapons provided by another. Has he not incautiously relied upon some enemy less scrupulous than himself, and who was bold in his imposture, in proportion as the public mind was credulous, and as his victim was friendless and unprotected? But the star of justice has its orbit, as well as less benignant constellations, and the sen-

* It is said in the brief, that certain germs of discord were observable in the Society which began to excite dissensions amongst its own members, and troubles between them and other religious orders, &c. but where the accusations against them are mentioned, they are only referred to as matters of past history, or as certain things *laid to their charge* now, which are *pretended* or *asserted* to be; or at most, disapprobation is pronounced against individual members, and even this in vague and general terms, without any specification of persons or places; while nothing is brought forward to compromise the principals of the Society, or to show that they had departed from their original Institute. He, Clement, is evidently seeking an excuse for complying with what was demanded of him, and takes especial care to state nothing in their favour; which clearly shows also, that he was not casting up a balance sheet, and giving the verdict against them, but merely enumerating some few of the accusations, admitting the troubles which they occasioned, and coming to the resolution that, under existing circumstances, they were no longer in a situation to render any service to religion in their capacity of members of the Society of St. Ignatius. But to prove that he had no just ground of complaint against the Society in general, or its principle, he says, "But that the world may know that our only object is, the advantage of the Church and the peace of Christendom, we desire to give some consolation in their sorrows to every member of the Society, each individual of which is most dear to us in Jesus Christ, and that all troubles and contentions being at an end, they may apply with more success, to cultivate the vineyard of the Lord, and to procure the salvation of souls, we decree" that "they either enter other religious communities, as their inclination may direct them, or place themselves as secular clergy under the immediate jurisdiction of their ordinary," &c. Was this treating them as *hostes humani generis*?

tence which one generation may pronounce almost by acclamation, another may rescind upon a fuller hearing; and we fondly hope that the right reverend prelate will be more just as well as more cautious for the future. But, as he has made *his* extract from the brief of their *suppression*, it is but fair that we should make ours from the bull of their *restoration*.

After reciting that the emperor Paul "had warmly recommended the said priests to the Holy See, in his most gracious dispatches of the 11th of August 1800, in which, after having expressed his special regard for them, he declared that it would be gratifying to him for the good of the Catholics of his empire, that the said company of Jesus should be established in his empire under that authority;" Pius VII proceeds to say:

"We, therefore, considering attentively the great advantages which these vast regions, almost destitute of evangelical workmen, might thence derive, and weighing in our mind the great increase which these clergymen, *whose morals and doctrines were holden in such high estimation*, would, by their unabated labours, their intense zeal for the good of souls, and their indefatigable preaching of the Word of God, occasion to the Catholic religion, have thought fit to second the wish of so great and beneficent a prince."

"A short time after," he continues, "we had ordained the restoration of the order of Jesuits in Russia, we thought it our duty to grant the same favour to the kingdom of Sicily, on the earnest request of our dear son in Jesus Christ, Ferdinand, who entreated that the company of Jesus might be re-established in his dominions and states, as it was in Russia, from a conviction that, in these deplorable times, the Jesuits were the teachers the most capable of forming youth to Christian piety, and to the fear of God, which is the beginning of wisdom, and to instruct them in literature and science in the colleges and public schools under the direction of these regular clergymen....."

"*Almost the whole Catholic world demands, with unanimous voice, the re-establishment of the Society of Jesus.* We daily receive to this effect the most pressing petitions from our venerable brethren the archbishops and bishops, and the most distinguished characters of every degree and order, more especially since the abundant fruits produced in every country in which this Society has had a footing, have been publicly known."—*Bull of Pius VII. See Appendix to the Disquisition.*

The bull, at the same time, extends the re-establishment of the order to all the states and dominions of the world, and revokes *in toto* the brief of Clement XIV.

But let us now take a leaf from the ordinance of the king of Spain for the revival of the institute within *his* dominions:

"Since," says his majesty, "by the effect of the infinite and special mercy of our blessed Lord, for me and my faithful subjects, I have found myself in the midst of them, resealed upon the glorious throne of my ancestors, I have received, and continue daily to receive, a number of representations made to me from the provinces, towns, villages, and boroughs of my kingdom, from the archbishops, bishops, clergy, and even the laity, all of whom have laid before me proofs of the loyalty and attachment, and of the warm interest they take in the temporal and spiritual welfare of my subjects, most earnestly supplicating and imploring me to re-establish, throughout every part of my dominions, the society of Jesus, inviting me in that to follow the example of the other sovereigns of Europe, and especially that of his holiness, who has thought proper to repeal the brief of Clement XIV, bearing date the 21st day of July, 1773, which extinguished the religious regular order of the Society of Jesus, by the publication of the famous constitution of the 7th day of last August; *Solicitud omnium ecclesiarum*. After such respectable precedents, I did whatever lay in my power to ascertain, in the most positive manner, the falsity of the criminal charges laid to the account of the society of Jesus, by their rivals and enemies, who were at the same time the enemies of the most holy religion of Jesus Christ, which is the first fundamental law of my monarchy, and that which my glorious predecessors ever protected and defended, with heroic firmness and constancy, thereby fulfilling the obligation, which the title of *most Catholic*, which has ever been allowed them up to this day by all other sovereigns, imposed upon them, and that zeal and example which, with the help of God, I wish and hope to follow. I have at length brought myself to the thorough conviction, that the real enemies of religion and kingly government were the very persons who had laboured, with the most earnestness, at rendering the society of Jesus odious, at dissolving it, at persecuting its unoffending members, *by employing against it the vilest intrigues, the foulest calumny, and the most ridiculous imputations.*"—*Ibid.*

And much more in the same strain, but too long for quotation here, though it is impossible for us to omit the following passage,—“That the pretended crimes that have been laid to their charge affected at most some few individuals; that by far the great majority of the society occupied themselves constantly in the attainment of science, in the practical administration of our holy religion, guided by the soundest prin-

ciples of morality, ever tending to alienate men from vice, and lead them in the ways of justice and virtue."

Such is the system which the fertile imagination of the right reverend prelate has conjured up into "the mystery of iniquity," and such the foundation upon which the mighty fabric reposes!—HOSTES HUMANI GENERIS!!!

But we must still read the right reverend prelate a lecture on these matters, and we will take it from one whom we deem a very unexceptionable witness in such a controversy.

Bayle has furnished us with abundant evidence, that in his days it was often as it is sometimes now.

"It is certain," says he, "that whatever is published against them (the Jesuits) is almost equally believed by their enemies, both Catholics and Protestants. It is also true, that the accusations are renewed against them, as often as occasion offers in any new book. In the meantime, they who examine with any sort of equity the innumerable apologies published by the Jesuits, find, as to some facts, sufficient justifications, to make a *reasonable* enemy drop the charge."

"The fate of the Jesuits," he adds, "and that of Catiline, is much the same. Several accusations were given in against Catiline without any proof; but they met with credit upon this general argument, *since he has done such a thing, he is very capable of having done this, or that, and it is very probable he has done the rest.*"... "There was published at the Hague, about eleven years ago, in 1689, a book entitled *The Religion of the Jesuits*. The author confesses, that the prejudice against these gentlemen is so general, that whatever attestations of innocence they fortify themselves with, it is impossible to undeceive the world."... "He (this author)" continues Bayle, "means that *a man need only confidently publish whatever he pleases against the Jesuits, to be assured that abundance of people will believe it.* I believe him in the right; at least that in this he will prove a good prophet. It was doubtless on this presumption, that he published the story of Vienna (one of those *monstrous historical falsehoods* against the society), though he believed it false. But if other authors have taken the same method, what will become of all the facts which the enemies of the Jesuits have published? Should we not have reason to believe, that they have divulged several, which they knew to be false or doubtful, and which, nevertheless, would in their reckoning appear as certain, and be received by the public as undoubted truths? *I cannot think the rules of morality will allow the making so ill a use of public prejudice.* They command us to be equitable towards all, and never to represent people worse than they are."... "And as at the bottom," he adds, "it is a great fault to be ready to believe whatever is said to the disadvantage of our enemies, true

or false, doubtful or certain; so there is more indiscretion than sincerity in revealing this prepossession. Would a cunning enemy discover this weak place? But, in point of indiscretion, this author has not his fellow."

Bayle, it is true, falls somewhat into the failings of those whom he so justly and so loudly condemns; but this he does upon the same plea upon which so much opposition is sought to be raised in our days both against the doctrines of the Anglican divines, and still more against those of the Catholic Church,—the *presumed tendency* of certain doctrines and opinions. Yet, after all, he acknowledges in respect to the casuistry taught by the Jesuits, that "they who have read father Pirot's book (*L'Apologie des Casuistes*) will own, that it is easier to censure it, and perceive that it contains *dangerous* doctrines (*i. e.* in his estimation) than answer his objections."

The very same accusation, which we have exposed in Ranke, has been, frequently and long since, taught, wilfully and designedly, against them; as, for example, in 1682, in an anonymous work, called the "*Emperor and Empire betrayed, and by whom?*" "All this," says the writer, "smells strong of an obedience, *which knows no other duty, nor rule of justice and piety, than the absolute command of his superior.*" But of this, as well as of the many other furious and fabricated accusations against the Jesuits, Bayle very justly observes:

"These writers would be too obligingly treated, should we say to them, *I expected proof, and you bring me vulgar stories.* For they most commonly vent, not only what they have heard themselves, but what they have forged in the mint of their own brain. He whom I have cited, and M. Jurieu, would afford matter of laughter to all the world; the one maintains, that the Jesuits betrayed the house of Austria in favour of France; and the other, that they would be always disposed to betray France in favour of the house of Austria."—*Bayle's Dic. : art. Ignatius of Loyola.*

If a Christian bishop would but do them the same justice as a layman, who had no other than the light of an infidel philosophy to guide him, we might rest contented. Till then we must console ourselves with the belief, that *his* injustice is the warrant for *their* innocence.

But we have still one little mistake to rectify. Another of the right reverend prelate's lamentations is, that "this is the order which directs the education of a *great part of the* PEOPLE of Ireland, and of many of the sons of the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry in England;" and even here,

though there is a considerable admixture of truth, yet is there also a large portion of error. Verily, the right reverend prelate seems spell-bound against the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. In all Ireland, if we mistake not, the Jesuits have but two establishments,—a college at Clongowes, and a church in Dublin. We doubt not that in those two localities, they do their duty by all classes, whether they be of the upper or lower; but it is well, if they have two poor schools in all Ireland; and not being a missionary country like England, they have not one parish or congregation. Yet this is to be called *educating* A GREAT PART OF THE PEOPLE of Ireland! Against the Catholic nobility and gentry of England, however, we must own it is a true bill. We ourselves were educated at Stonyhurst, and God be praised for the same! for whatever of good principles we have, we imbibed them there, and we have ever since been but too happy in every opportunity of bearing testimony to the strict discipline observed amongst the students, and the self-devotion and heroic virtue of the fathers of the society; and we beg the right reverend prelate to accept of our sincere thanks for procuring us this renewed gratification upon the present occasion.

Even at the risk of being tedious, we cannot refrain from a slight notice of another warning, and another calumny, against the Catholic Church. "We are far," says the charge, "from presuming to assert the absolute perfectness of our own Church; but it is not in retracing any of the steps, by which she has receded from the Church of Rome, that she is to be made more perfect; nor by attempting to remodel her upon the doctrine and discipline, not of the primitive Church, but of the Church of the fourth or fifth century, infected as it was with the remains of *Gnostic superstitions*, and the inventions of enthusiastic or ambitious men."—p. 60.

Now, the Gnostic heresies were *out* of the Church, and *not in it*. They were, in the commencement, an admixture of Christianity introduced into Paganism and Judaism—erroneous tenets forced from Christianity, and engrafted even upon sectarian tenets of the Jews. Subsequently, indeed, some few derived their origin from teachers who were or had been connected with the Church; but these, such as Marcion, the most considerable of them all, were immediately excommunicated, and separated from the fellowship of the faithful. They were denounced by name, their doctrine repudiated, and themselves pointed out as men to be avoided as

the authors and abettors of heresy. The doctrines of Christianity, as propounded by the Church, appeared defective to the eyes of Gnostic mysticism; and, though some of them were ambitious of a Christian origin, such as the Nicolaites and the Ebionites, yet not even these were ever confounded with real orthodox Christians, who were bound together in one great but exclusive communion, and who held the unity of the Church as an essential and fundamental doctrine.

St. Irenæus informs us that some of the Gnostic heretics possessed representations of our Saviour both in painting and sculpture, which they declared to have been executed by order of Pilate during the life time of Christ. The saint reproached them with placing these representations *with those of pagan philosophers, and using both with superstitious observances*: so little of real Christianity had they.*

Cerintus, and Basilides, and Saturninus, were all disciples of the Alexandrian philosophy; taught the transmigration of souls; that the world was created by angels; and every possible variety of mystic extravagance and blasphemous impiety, interwoven only with some faint traces of Christianity. Valentinus, another of these Gnostics, was three times denounced by the Church at Rome, whither he had gone to broach his absurdities. Tatian quitted the Church as soon as he began to propagate his errors; while Theodotus was denounced and excommunicated by Pope Victor, for attempting to gain proselytes to his impious doctrines in Rome; and Noctus was expelled as an innovator by the clergy of Smyrna about the year 220.

When the heresiarch Montanus, about the close of the second century, began to disseminate his dangerous and subtle novelties among the people, he was continually, though in vain, called upon to desist: as a customary consequence, the Churches of Asia several times assembled to examine his doctrine, pronounced it impious, and cut off from the communion of the faithful all who were infected with his errors.†

When the great Tertullian, he who for many years had been the main living pillar of the Church, her most eloquent apologist, and the most active, as the most able, champion of orthodoxy, in face of all the heresies which surrounded him, allowed himself at length to be seduced within the snares of

* It is to be observed that St. Irenæus does not blame the use, but the *abuse* of these images. Ceillier, vol. ii. 145.

† Ceillier, p. 531. vol. ii.

the *enemy of the human race*, and of truth; after joining these same Montanists for a short time, he set up a sect for himself, which adopted his name, and worshipped apart from the rest of the world.* So distinct were all the heresies of this, as of every other age; and so completely have they ever served, instead of instilling their poison into her, to attest the orthodoxy of the Church, and to mark *her* triumph over them.

The Ophites, another division of Gnostics, separated themselves into various sects violently opposed to each other. Those whom Origen met in Egypt had nothing of Christianity amongst them; while the Sethians and Cainites pretended to derive their descent from Seth and Cain. Cæinthus, Carpocrates, and Epiphanes had so little of Christianity in their system, that their followers were no better than so many sects of heathens. Of all the teachers of Gnosticism in any shape or form, the only one who contrived, by the art with which he concealed his doctrines from the public (announcing them only in secret assemblies,) to maintain himself within the ostensible limits of the Church, was Bardasenes.

But neither he, nor any of the numerous enemies of early Christianity, succeeded in instilling, without detection, their own doctrines amongst the faithful. Such as were unhappy enough to imbibe and profess them, were immediately repudiated, and cut off from the assemblies of the true believers; nor does it appear that any one sect of Gnostics ever admitted, *in its integrity*, any one doctrine of Christianity. This at least is certain, that, multifarious as they were, they every one of them denied and rejected the perfect, hypostatic union of the Divine and human nature in the person of Christ, though with an almost endless variety of the most fanciful opinions on this essential and fundamental tenet. Indeed, it would seem that it was a maxim with them, that uniformity of belief was neither attainable nor desirable, and that the human mind had a right to range free and unrestricted amidst the boundless regions of a speculative and imaginary world. They had apocryphal Scriptures of their own; or, when they borrowed any from Christianity, they were careful to modify and corrupt them to their own views.

This accusation of the Bishop of London's is but an old discovery of Mosheim's; yet Mosheim acknowledges that the ancient fathers faithfully represented the doctrines of

* Ceillier, p. 377. vol. ii.

the Gnostics, as well as the pagan historians of that day. Plotinus and St. Irenæus are agreed, he admits, upon this point. If, then, the ancient fathers faithfully represented their doctrines for the purpose of refuting them, and not only refuted them, but expelled their authors from the Church when they refused to renounce them, is it likely that they adopted them? or, what more do we require to establish the fact that there was no community of belief or feeling between them? What Mosheim failed to do, Dr. Bloomfield will not succeed in accomplishing; and neither one nor the other can identify one single opinion, much less a dogma, introduced into the Christian Church by this wild and extravagant development of the superstitious philosophy of the ancient heathens.

Each successive heresy, so far from making inroads into her doctrine, only compelled the Church to put forth her attributes with fresh energy, and to vindicate her own against the fictitious tenets of innovators and impostors, by a stricter definition of the sacred and imperishable truths entrusted to her keeping; and thus it is that they can be traced in a pure, continuous track, through the mists of error which have in vain endeavoured to obscure it.

Gnosticism, indeed, had but a short reign; it was too absurdly fanciful, and too extravagantly impious, to endure long in the face of the pure and bright truths of Christianity: and, by the middle of the third century, it resolved itself into a more modified, and, at least, a less ostensibly offensive form amongst the disciples of Manes. This superstition, also, was of eastern origin, and too unhappily resembled its predecessor in the romantic folly of its poetic imaginings, and in the very faint glimmerings of Christianity with which it was rather deformed than embellished. So far, in reality, did the doctrines of this new sect fall short of Christianity, that they also maintained a most ridiculous system of the transmigration of souls; paid Divine honours only to the Christ reigning in the sun and moon, and worshipped without temples, altars, or sacrifices.

On the other hand, is it either matter of authentic history, or even of idle report, that any one of the Gnostic follies or superstitions was ever incorporated with the doctrines of Christianity? and we venture to ask with confidence for the proof that the Church of the fourth or fifth century was, in any shape whatever, infected with the remains of Gnostic superstition, or any other heresy. But, while we defy the

right reverend prelate to make good either one assertion or the other, "that it (the Church) was also infected with the inventions of enthusiastic or ambitious men," we must also beg leave to put a question to *him* and to ask why it is that he deprecates "the attempt to remodel (the Church of England) upon the doctrine and discipline, not of the primitive Church, *but of the Church of the fourth or fifth century?*" Now, we are far from pretending to divine what may be passing in the mind of the right reverend prelate, but we cannot, in the honesty of our heart, conceal from him what is passing in our own. We suspect—we acknowledge it to be only a suspicion—that the right reverend prelate judges it more convenient to carry the question in debate, from a period in which the mass of evidence is crowded, positive, unequivocal, incontrovertible, and overwhelming, to one in which the lamp of faith is less discernible, emitting but fewer rays, and burning, not, in reality, with less vigour, or with less brightness, but with less of vivid distinctness through the more lengthened distance.

It brings him nearer—may he not argue thus?—to his own rule; to a period in which little else was written but the Scriptures, or, at least, little that has come down to us. May it not give the right reverend prelate an excuse for saying, "We have no other evidence but the plain and most certain warrant of holy Scripture;" we will search *that*, and decide for ourselves. But let us remind him that this was also the very argument of many of the Gnostics,—of all, indeed, who pretended to any connexion with Christianity. They had for ever in their mouths those words of our Saviour, "Seek and you shall find." An appeal to the Church was answered by an appeal to the *Scriptures*; for they held that the Church had been *already* over-laid with errors and corruptions, even as early as the *second* century; indeed, many of them accused the apostles, nay, Christ himself, of accommodating his doctrine to the prevailing prejudices and necessities of the times,—they *alone* were gifted with a plain and rightly-informed understanding for the investigation and discovery of spiritual truths, and for evidence of these truths, they confidently appealed to the Scriptures; continually complaining of the injustice done them by the Church, in driving them from her communion; for their design was to associate, if possible, their pestilent errors with the pure doctrines of Christianity. But in this they most signally failed, and the Catholic Church was no more in-

fectured with Gnosticism during the fourth or fifth centuries, than it is now with Puritanism or Quakerism.*

We have but one word more to say to the right reverend prelate,—to repeat our recommendation to him to study his history as well as his theology, before he again steps forward as a volunteer in the crusade against Catholicity,

—— “To be too busy is some danger;”

His discretion might have tutored him better, than to have sent him pell-mell into a fight, for which he seems to have been so little prepared. One solitary specimen will suffice of the right reverend prelate's profound knowledge, even of English ecclesiastical history; “It was a system of corruption and tyranny, which drove her (the Church of England) from communion with Rome.” It was indeed the work of corruption and of tyranny,—of corruption amongst the nobles, and tyranny in the monarch,—a slavish subserviency amongst the governed, and an iron despotism on the part of the governor. But this is not exactly as the right reverend prelate means to apply his observation—Corruption of doctrine in the Church of Christ, the Catholic Church, and tyranny in her discipline. This is *his* assertion; but where has the commentator upon *Æschylus* studied his history of the reformation? Has he never heard of that singular fact that for eighteen years after the cessation of all communion with Rome, not one of the tenets of the Anglican Church was altered? On the contrary, were not the most severe, nay barbarous enactments passed to maintain them? It was a pure act of schism, and nothing more; and, as a consequence, the transfer of the

* St. Hippolytus, who flourished early in the third century, gives us the following relation of the expulsion of Noctus from the Church, which may be taken as a specimen of the method adopted upon such occasions.

Hearing that Noctus was disseminating his pernicious doctrines, the clergy required his attendance, and examined him in presence of the authorities of the Church. He disavowed the errors which were imputed to him, but soon attempted to propagate them by stealth. Finding others of the same opinions as himself, he openly broached his heresy. He was then summoned a second time before the authorities of the Church: but now, instead of the feigned humility with which he had submitted to their remonstrances upon the former occasion, he exhibited his true character, comported himself with an obstinate haughtiness, and asked what harm he was doing. Finding their efforts to reclaim him ineffectual, they expelled him from the communion of the faithful.—*See Ceillier*, vol. ii. p. 342, &c.

See the history of these sects at large in the writings of St. Irenæus, Tertullian, and others, as analyzed by Ceillier; also a shorter account of them in Döllinger's *History of the Church*. London, 1840. Consult also Bergier's *Diet. de Theologie*, and the various biographical notices of ancient heresiarchs.

papacy from Rome to Westminster. And as long as he lived, this new head of the Church was even a fiercer persecutor of the doctrines of bishop Bloomfield, than bishop Bloomfield is now of his; for the king, with the aid of Cranmer, burnt his heretics alive, and even forced one of his bishops, who had been himself condemned to death, but had saved himself by recantation, to preach an orthodox sermon to his victims at the stake.

Is all this new to the right reverend prelate? and is it not an acknowledged historical fact, that it was the brightness of Boleyn's eyes, and not the corruptions or tyranny of Rome, which drove England from communion with her? Even for the first five years of Edward's reign, no *DOCTRINAL reformation* took place,—for Cranmer's first liturgy only touched the rubrics and ceremonies. It was a *form of prayer and administration of the sacraments*, declared by him agreeable to the most sincere and pure Christian religion taught by the Scriptures, and the usages of the primitive Church; and it was not till his second illumination (having also been directed in the first, as he expressed it, and as we have already observed, by the aid of the Holy Ghost), that he discovered the errors of his former doctrines, and was now instructed to promulgate others in direct opposition to them; though he still declared those same former doctrines to be a *very godly order, set forth by authority, agreeable to the word of God and the primitive Church!** Yes, this was the theologian who, after a term of eighteen years of simple schism, first invaded the doctrines of Rome, and who is so eulogized by the right reverend prelate for so doing. Much, however, as Protestantism is indebted to Cranmer, we must own we never could exactly discern his right to the admiration which we are expected to entertain towards him. We never could hold in reverence a man who, at his consecration, made a secret protest against the public oath which he was about to take; who degraded the episcopal character by declaring that a prince might make a priest as well as a bishop, for that neither priest nor bishop needeth consecration;† who lowered the episcopal office to that of a mere officer of state, holding it only at the will and pleasure of the sovereign; who, though he had bound himself by the most sacred and solemn engagement to observe a life of celibacy, was privately married to

* See Cranmer's First and Second Liturgies.

† See these declarations in Burnet. Record xxi. vol. ii. 8vo. ed. 1820.

a niece of Osiander, whom he secretly introduced into this country, and smuggled about from one palace to another; who was ever guilty of the most accommodating tergiversations under the fearful frown of Henry, in matters of opinion; while, in matters of fact, he carried his subserviency so far as to divorce that scrupulous and exemplary monarch from no less than three wives,—in one case, deliberately playing off a studied and hypocritical drama, under a wretched attempt to save appearances, by deceiving the world with a feigned course of decency and order; in another, solemnly confirming, and soon afterwards as solemnly annulling, his own decision; and in the third, exhibiting a most edifying display of the basest obsequiousness to the will of him with the gratification of whose pleasure his own interests were now so completely identified; who, ever swimming with the stream when he could not stem it, and—upon this principle it is presumed—thinking it right and lawful to execute Catholics and burn Protestants under one master, and Protestants of another shade under a second, for not trimming their religious opinions by his; while at last he came most unhappily to the same fate himself as a traitor and a heretic, still, however, recanting all his heterodox opinions in favour of his original Catholic tenets, in compliance with his old habits, and in hopes of escaping the punishment he had so cruelly inflicted upon others, but recanting his recantation when he found his accustomed duplicity no longer available to his purpose!*

* In 1538, Cranmer summoned Lambert into his archiepiscopal court for broaching errors against the real presence; when his prisoner appealed to the king, as supreme head of the Church, Cranmer, in the presence of the royal pontiff, disputed with the heretic in favour of *transubstantiation* (being then embodied in one of the six articles), but failing in his powers of persuasion, abandoned his unfortunate victim to the sentence pronounced upon him by Cromwell, as vicar-general to the supreme head—that he should die at the stake! Two years afterwards, Cranmer argued, both in the house and in convocation, *against* this same doctrine, but had the discretion at last to own himself confounded by the “goodlie learning” of the king; (see Burnet, vol. i. p. 270, and Lingard, pp. 287 and 277, vol. iv. 4to. ed.) while in 1549, he put forth “a form of prayer and administration of the sacraments;” which, telling neither one thing nor the other, as to the manner of the presence, may be *presumed* to have been intended for the foreign reformed tenet of consubstantiation, which both Burnet and Strype conceive him to have held, even when he conspired to the death of Lambert, for professing opinions towards which he himself was verging at the time, and which he openly avowed in 1552; when all *corporeal* presence of Christ in the Eucharist was absolutely renounced. In 1562, this portion of the article was omitted, and a purely “*heavenly and spiritual*” presence, depending upon the faith of the recipient, declared to be the orthodox definition of this mysterious doctrine. Each alteration, be it remembered, was announced by competent

Is this the man who deserves the honours of a martyr, or a temple to be erected to his fame? or does he merit to be lauded at the expense of Hildebrand and Becket, whom the right reverend prelate is pleased to style the "authors and abettors of evil, the firebrands of discord, and the subverters of civil government"! We cannot but think the right reverend prelate might still read history to some advantage, and display a sounder judgment both in his praises and his censures.*

With the frequent warnings of the bishop to his weaker brethren, against being seduced by the attractive guise of Catholicity, we have nothing particular to do. Those to whom they are addressed will, we trust, know how to appreciate them, and not be so easily deterred from prosecuting their inquiries after truth. Truth and unity;—these are the essential attributes of Christianity; and till they have attained to these, they should never rest. The great St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo, speaking of his feelings before his conversion,—before his heart had been fully enlightened to the whole truths of Christianity, thus beautifully expresses himself: "While in virtue I saw a beloved peace; in vice I beheld a hateful discord. In the one, I observed unity; in the other, division. *And in this unity I placed the seat of*

authority, and for the express and avowed purpose of "avoiding diversities of opinions." (See the 29th of the Forty-two Articles of 1552, and the 28th of the Thirty-nine of 1562.)

* The reader will recollect that Cranmer, after dissolving the marriage between Henry and Catherine, "officially declared (after the farce of a solemn investigation at Lambeth) that Henry and Anne (Boleyn) were, and had been joined in lawful matrimony: that their marriage was, and had been public and manifest; and that he moreover confirms it by his judicial and pastoral authority," yet—two days after the condemnation of the Queen (Anne Boleyn) by the Peers, Cranmer, "having previously invoked the name of Christ, and having God ALONE before his eyes, pronounced definitely that the marriage formerly contracted, solemnized, and consummated between Henry and Anne Boleyn was, and always had been null and void." Henry dressed himself in white on the day of her execution, and was married to Jane Seymour the following morning. (Jane died in childbed.) But Cranmer's ingenuity in discovering the means of gratifying the unruly desires of an unrelenting and tyrannical master, who, as Heylin too truly affirms, "never spared woman in his lust, nor man in his anger," (Lingard) was still to be favoured with another opportunity of displaying itself in these same delicate emergencies. Ann of Cleves was lawfully married to Henry, but not happening to suit the monarch's taste, the Convocation, headed by Cranmer, and taking up the chord from him, quickly and graciously pronounced this marriage also as null and void, as either of the two from which they had already relieved him! Upon which Burnet most magnanimously observes, "and here this matter ended, to the great reproach of that body that went so hastily and so unanimously into that scandalous decision."—p. 217, vol. v.

reason, the essence of truth, and the sovereign good; in division and discord sat the spirit of every ill."* He proceeds to consider the dangers which beset an ill-directed mind, and a perverse spirit,—learning without wisdom, and knowledge without docility,—and he thus accounts for the unprofitable acquirements of those whose pride and presumption cast a maze over their eyes. "They speak most learnedly," he observes, "on the creation, but they seek not with sincerity the truths of the Creator: and for this reason they find them not. Or if they find them, they soon lose them again in the variety of their own conceits, and with blind perversity charge their own falsehoods upon the God of truth."†

God grant that they who are seeking for the light, and perhaps approaching it little by little, may profit by these wise sentiments of one who was once precisely in their condition.‡

ART. II.—1. *A Brief Account of the Constitution of the Established Church of Scotland, and of the Questions concerning Patronage and the Secession.* By the late Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff Welwood, Bart., D.D.; revised and edited, with a short preface, by Sir James Moncrieff Welwood, Bart., one of the Senators of the College of Justice. Edinburgh: 1833.

2. *Report of the Auchterarder Case, the Earl of Kinnoul and the Rev. R. Young against the Presbytery of Auchterarder.* By Charles Robertson, Esq. Advocate, &c. Published by authority of the Court. 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh: 1838.

FOR several years past the attention of the public has been, more or less, attracted to that portion of the state religious establishment which rejoices in the name of the KIRK OF SCOTLAND. Its condition has been commented on in the leading articles of some of the most distinguished and widely-circulated journals; pamphlets and books without number have, in relation to it, poured from the press; and, what is of higher importance, the time of the government has been occupied, and the business of the country interrupted and

* Confessions, c. iii. b. 5.

† Confessions, c. xv. b. 4.

‡ When we began our article, we fully expected to have comprised within it some short notice at least of each of the charges which compose our heading; but our space would not permit us: so that we may perhaps have occasion to return to the subject.

impeded, by the resistance to authority, and the absurd and untenable "claims" of this creature of the law of the land. A collision has accordingly taken place between the Kirk and the State, which must inevitably resolve into the immediate subjection and ultimate destruction of the former: and all this has arisen out of an unwarrantable assumption of power, and independence of the civil authority in matters of civil right, by these turbulent disciples of Knox and Calvin, wholly without parallel in the history of modern times. A learned northern judge (Lord Gillies), in delivering his opinion in the great cause to be presently noticed, was pleased to declare that "the Church of Scotland is a beautiful and solid fabric. It rests on durable—on eternal foundations." We shall see ere long how far the boasted durability of this very elegant structure is likely to be maintained by the behaviour of its occupants.*

We have selected, as a peg whereon to hang the following observations, the titles of two works, out of the mass of publications emitted in this matter of the Kirk, which we consider most deserving of the attention of our readers;—the first, as allowed to be the most perfect *précis* of the legal constitution of the Kirk, by one of its most zealous and distinguished members, and to which we are indebted for our historical summary: the second, as the only ample report of the first great cause originating from the illegal acts of a majority of the clergy, on which the whole question at issue depends. We shall endeavour, as concisely as may be, to make our readers familiar with the general details of this clerical *émeute*, and for that purpose must carry back their memories to the infancy and progressive advancement of the "Universall Kirke of Scotland."

When, in 1560, under the direction of the amiable John Knox, the "rooks" had been put to flight, and their "nests" pulled to pieces by the vigorous enthusiasm of a pious and grateful populace, the efforts of the self-constituted clergy to bolster up a Church were neither few nor unsuccessful. Seven years thereafter, the handywork of these diligent "pruners of the Lord's vineyard" first began to assume the character of a state establishment, by virtue of sundry acts of parliament incorporating the Protestant confession of faith

* Shortly after these lines had been sent to press, Lord Gillies died at Leamington: and it is a singular fact that this talented eulogist of the "eternal" Kirk, became, on his deathbed, its decided opponent, and a convert to the inconsistencies of the Oxford tractarians.

with the municipal law. In one of these statutes (1567, c. 7), while their assumed *spiritualities* were settled upon the clergy, the existing and real rights of advowson were secured and preserved to the respective patrons. *Inter alia* it declared, in the expressive vernacular of the time, "that the examination and admission of ministers within this realm, be only in the power of the Kirk, now oppenly and publickly professt within the samin; the presentatioun of lawit (lay) patronageis alwayis reservit to the just and ancient patronis." At that period Presbyteries* had not been introduced into the system, and "superintendents," by a sort of episcopal parody, were appointed to watch over the conduct of the parochial clergy, and generally to attend to the affairs of the Kirk. The act then, after providing for the appointment of ministers *jure devoluto* in the event of patrons neglecting to exercise their rights, expresses that, should the superintendent refuse to receive into orders a properly qualified presentee, "it sal be lesum (lawful) to the patroun to appeill to the superintendent and ministeris of that province quhair the benefice lyes, and desyre the person presentit to be admittit. Quilk gif thay refuse, to appeill to the generall assemblie of this haill realme, be quhome the cause beand decydit, sall tak end as thay decerne and declair."

We here see that, by the original statute of establishment the rights alike of clergy and laity are clearly defined and expressly declared. To the former was given the exclusive power to examine and admit ministers into the Kirk, with an explicit provision that, should any differences arise as to the *qualifications* of a presentee, these should finally be adjusted and decided by the general assembly of the whole Kirk; while, to the latter parties, their rights of patronage were pronounced to be inviolate then and thenceforward. But the statute is altogether silent respecting the right of the people, or of congregations, either to select for themselves, or to control the election of a pastor chosen for them, far less to overrule or set aside the proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts or patrons in any such matter; and not a single word or sentence in the act can, by any means, be construed or twisted into a recognition of the existence of any such right or privilege. This statute was homologated and ratified by another act passed twenty-five years after, in 1592.

* A presbytery consists of the ministers of several contiguous parishes, who are members *ex officio*, with the addition of an *elder*, or vestryman, elected at stated periods from each *Kirk session*, or vestry, within the district.

Early in the following century, as every one knows, Jack Presbyter was for a season compelled to succumb to Episcopacy; but, unfortunately, being merely *scotched* not killed, the rogue revived about the middle of it, *aucto vigore*. In 1649, the general assembly, in virtue of powers committed to it by the revolutionary "Convention of Estates," passed an act prescriptive of the mode in which ministers were to be elected; and in this—patronage being nominally set aside—the election was reposed in the hands of the Kirk-session. But, if it should happen that the majority of the congregation objected to the person elected, the Presbytery and Kirk courts were empowered to "judge of the samen." Thus, at a period when the populace and the Kirk rode rampant over the state; when neither law nor true religion was regarded; and this act—the most *liberal* in the records of Presbyterianism—was passed; the former had no power of absolute prevention conferred upon them, but the whole was vested in the Kirk itself. This statute, of course, now merely forms a point in the history of the times; as it, and all similar enactments, were repealed at the Restoration. In 1690, Presbytery was again confirmed in Scotland, when several statutes to that effect were enacted; these, however, were voided by one passed in the reign of Queen Anne (1711), which, replacing in their full plenitude and integrity the rights of patrons, directed that "the Presbytery of the respective bounds shall, and is hereby obliged to receive and admit in the same manner such qualified person or persons, minister or ministers, as shall be presented by the respective patrons, as the persons or ministers presented before the making of this act ought to have been admitted;"—that is, by the prior acts of parliament on the subject, namely of 1567 and 1592. In this manner, by the act of the legislature finally establishing Presbyterianism, the original rights of the patrons were consolidated and affirmed.

The preceding being, we think, sufficient to show the institution of the Kirk, and to explain the respective powers of the clergy and the patrons, we shall now turn to the law and practice of what is, in the peculiar phraseology of the establishment, denominated *CALLS*.

When a clergyman has received a presentation to a benefice, he is appointed by the presbytery within which the parish is situated, to preach what are called his "Trial sermons" in the parish kirk. After this, a day is fixed, within six weeks, for "moderating" in his "call," notice being given from the pulpit, at least ten days before the day ap-

pointed, and not later than the second Sunday after the meeting of presbytery. On that day, one of the clergymen of the presbytery preaches a sermon; informs the people that a presentation has been lodged, and invites them to subscribe a written "call" to the presentee to be their minister. This is termed the "moderation of the call;" which, when signed, is sustained by the presbytery, however small the number of subscribers may be. They then proceed to their *spiritual* duties of examination, or "trials" of the presentee; and these being satisfactorily conducted, the presbytery, after sundry forms, invest him with the powers of a minister by what, God knows! they very properly denominate the "*imposition* of hands." This is the correct and *legal* proceeding in the matter of calls.

Let us now,—the authorized and chartered rights of the clergy and laity being briefly set forth,—take a rapid survey of the condition of the Kirk for a century past.

After the act of Queen Anne, above alluded to, had imperatively fixed the existence of the Kirk as a parliamentarily authorized institution, the conduct of the ministers appears for a season to have been tolerably decent and quiet. The old rebellious leaven, however, was too deeply incorporated with the system, not to ferment, more or less; and, accordingly, only a very short time elapsed before the alleged grievances of patronage, and their national repugnance to good order as subjects, occasioned sundry outbreaks and malcontents. At the time of passing Queen Anne's act (known as such *par excellence*), the preposterous claim of inherent divine right of election of pastors in the people was as little noticed or conceded by the statute, as it was avowedly asserted or maintained by the people. Whatever, on this latter point, a few individuals may have thought, there was then unquestionably no demand for the recognition of the principle, and the promulgation of these sentiments was reserved till a comparatively recent period. It was alleged, however, that many and great abuses of the right of patronage did exist;—one, especially, being the practice by which patrons presented individuals who occupied rich benefices to poor ones, which they, as a matter of course, refused to accept, and then, by instituting actions in the Kirk courts, to compel the presentee's acceptance, they contrived, through "the law's delay," to protract the period of vacancy, when, as the law then stood, they were enabled to retain the interim stipends. To remedy this and all other abuses existing, or supposed to exist, the act of 5 Geo. I. c. 29, 58, was passed,

which, while it checked patrons from arrogating more power to themselves than they really possessed, corroborated what they originally had, and preserved the relative rights of the laity and the clergy. But, apart from the occasional eruptions alluded to, it appears on the whole that, till the year 1725, the general assemblies of the clergy, in spite of the usual diversity of political and party feeling, were united in a desire to preserve order and tranquillity in the country; and, when dispersed in their respective parishes, to discharge the moral duties* which they were appointed to inculcate with benefit to the laity and respectability to themselves. Any disputed presentations were then regulated by the statute of 1690.†

About, or shortly after the said year 1725, two parties arose in the Kirk; the one contending for popular election in the settlement of ministers, to the effect that they should be chosen by the heads of families, as well as by the heritors (or land-proprietors of the parish) and elders (or vestrymen), in opposition both to the law of patronage and the settled practice under the statute of 1690; and the other, without at all going this length, merely desiring that the "call" should be exclusively by the heritors and elders, subject to the approval or disapproval of the congregation, for reasons properly shown; and that this should be the uniform practice in every instance of the *jus devolutum*,—that is, when the presentation fell into the hands of the presbytery, in consequence of the neglect of the patron to supply the vacancy within the semestrial period prescribed by the statute,—a circumstance of very frequent occurrence at that time. The people then appear to have been very restive, and their opposition to presentees frequent; in which conduct they received much countenance from the popular party among the ministers, who, affecting what they were pleased to style conscientious scruples as regarded the induction of persons objected to by the people, and that in virtue of such objections there could exist no pastoral connexions between the individuals so repudiated and their objectors, contrived that whole presbyteries refused to execute the sentence of their superior Kirk courts, which ordained such inductions. With

* We say simply *moral* duties, as common to ordinary civilization; because, as we hold presbyterianism to be little better than a qualified paganism, it would be a misappropriation of terms to talk of *religious* ones.

† Sir Henry Moncrieff's "Brief Account," *passim*.

a view to remove this stone of offence, on which the establishment had nearly been shivered, the general assemblies, or their commissions, presumed to violate the constitutional course by which the presbyteries were obliged to obey their sentences; and instead of them, they appointed either members of their own number, or those of synods or presbyteries contiguous to the disturbed parish, to execute their orders, and induct the presentee in the usual forms competent in ordinary cases to the presbyteries, leaving it open to such members of the presbyteries as chose to unite with them in so doing. This gross breach of the constitution of the Kirk, but proceeding from less worthy motives, will be found to have its parallel in our own times. Like other measures of expediency, it proved an eventual failure; and another one, productive of more peculiar effects, and still further encroaching on the constitution of the Kirk, was had recourse to, in 1732, by those who desired to quash those doctrines of divine right in the people at large to elect their ministers, which were so keenly contended for. And they accordingly persuaded the general assembly of that year to pass an act, by *their own authority*, and *without transmission to the presbyteries*, substantially adopting the precise rule which had been laid down and fixed in the parliamentary enactment of 1690.

To express the illegality of this proceeding, it may be necessary to explain a word of repeated occurrence in matters connected with the history of the Kirk;—we mean “overtures”;—so named, we presume, as *lucus a non lucendo*, from the very general absence of all *harmony* which their introduction creates! An overture, therefore, in the legal *patois* of the Kirk, is a proposal to make a new general law, or to repeal an old one, to declare the law, to enjoin the observance of future enactments; or generally, to take any measure falling within the legislative or executive functions of the general assembly,* by whom no new law can be passed, or an existing one rescinded, without the consent of a majority of the presbyteries. And for that reason, it is provided by an act of assembly in 1697, commonly known as the Barrier act, that any measure intended as a binding rule and constitution for the Kirk, must first be proposed as an overture to the general assembly; and if approved of by a majority of that court, must be transmitted to the several presbyteries, who are instructed to consider it, and send their

* Bell's Dictionary of the Law of Scotland, *sub voce* Overture.

opinions thereon to the next general assembly. This is then passed into a standing law, if it be the general opinion of the Kirk that it ought to be enacted; but not fewer than forty presbyteries must have approved of it.* Thus, in the instance above noticed, by the general assembly's non-observance of its own laws, recognized by the state, it perpetrated a direct outrage alike on the Kirk and the constitution which created it. This, too, has its parallel in later days; and they beautifully illustrate, in its proper colours, the ridiculous character of a legislative faith prepared for the multitude by their erring fellow-mortals, in opposition to that appointed for them by their Saviour.

The conduct of the assembly in this matter met, very properly, with much opposition from those of the then popular party; from some, because they justly viewed it as an infringement of constitutional rights; from others, because of their "divine right" opinions, which made them kick against all legislative interference, whether it proceeded from Kirk or State. And moreover, it evoked that ultra-democratic spirit among the clergy, which, fostered by the energies of Ebenezer Erskine, ultimately caused the first great schism in the Kirk of Scotland, called the "Secession," and, at a later date, in 1751, the second large class of dissenters, known by the designation of the "Presbytery of Relief." In the clear and distinct pamphlet which we have placed at the head of this article, and to which we are beholden for many of our remarks, the history of those divisions is concisely and perspicuously set forth.

From 1752 to 1763, the machinery of the Kirk seems to have worked pretty smoothly. In the latter year, the party which called itself, *καὶ ἐξοχήν*, the "Moderate,"—and by which is to be understood those who deferred to the law as provided for the Kirk by the State,—was fairly organized under the management of Dr. Robertson, the historian, who, from his talents and virtues,—admitted alike by parties of all sentiments, political or theological,—had acquired great weight and influence, which he appears to have sustained with much independence and tact. By these the principles of moderation were completely settled, and "the general doctrine, that a presentation, adhered to by the presentee, should in all cases be made effectual, without any reservation founded on the merits of the call, or on the number of heritors, elders,

* Bell, *ut supra*. *Voce Barrier*.

or parishioners, who concurred or dissented, was uniformly maintained during the whole period of Dr. Robertson's influence in the assemblies";* and all the objections countenanced by him and his friends were restricted to the conduct in life, and the doctrines pursued and held by the presentee. For nearly half a century after Dr. Robertson's retirement from public affairs, in 1781, the ministers of the Kirk conducted themselves on the whole as orderly subjects and decent members of society, devoted to the culture of their glebes, itinerating through their parishes, studious of matters horticultural, and inquisitive into the sciences of domestic economy and the propagation of calves;† these very important duties being relieved by occasional friendly jollifications, bible-society meetings, and the agreeable recreation of denouncing "popery," and committing by wholesale, and with a positive certainty, two-thirds of the Christian world, as "bairns of the auld hure," to the tender mercies of the father of the "reformation,"‡ and all his satellites. The people, meanwhile, when any differences did arise, quietly withdrew from the establishment, and, erecting to themselves conventicles, took shelter under the wings of some one or other of the many dissenting associations.

"A life so sacred, such serene repose,
Seemed heaven itself, till one suggestion rose,"

which banished this delightful calm; notwithstanding that the reverend baronet, writing in 1818, says, "the bustle in assemblies is, in a great measure, over; or, a disputed settlement no longer creates any serious interest or division in the Church Courts;"§ and, two or three pages previously, remarks that—

* Sir H. Moncrieff's "Brief Account," p. 83.

† *A propos* of these useful occupations, we have recently been highly amused by an useful, but truly eccentric and mirth-provoking little volume, published at Edinburgh some months ago, and entitled "Clerical Economics." It is generally attributed, we believe, to the Rev. John Aiton, D.D., of Dolphinton, Co. Peebles, author of the "Life and Times of Alexander Henderson." We may perhaps have occasion, on some future day, to refer to his "Economics," leaving the worthy gentleman to fight his own battles with the Episcopalians in Scotland, and his brethren of the "wild" side of the Kirk, to both of whom he has thrown down the gauntlet.

‡ Our readers will recollect the conference of Mr. Martin Luther with a certain old gentleman, upon "Controverted heads of religion," as narrated by the godly Martin in his "Table Talk."

§ "Brief Account," p. 90, where he adds this gratifying sentence: "But the silent increase of seceding meetings has gradually weakened and contracted the influence of the establishment, on the general population."

"The great majority of the Church are convinced that the system of patronage, so long resisted in the Church Courts, is at last completely established. Even many of those individuals who held a different doctrine, thirty or forty years ago, do not think it expedient, in the present times, to revive a controversy, which such a long series of decisions in the Supreme Court is held to have settled. It appears to them that, at this distance of time, the revival of the controversy would not only contribute nothing to lessen the evils which they still impute to the system which has been so long acted upon; but that, without any real advantage to the country, it would aggravate the difficulties which occur in effectuating the induction of individual presentees, and add greatly to the irritations which serve so much to distract and to divide the people."

Thus spake the wisdom of the Kirk. In 1832, however, the increased power given to the people by the Reform Bill suggested to some of the ministers of the said Kirk that they also ought to be invested with new and peculiar privileges, forgetful that there was this difference between them and the people,—that the latter, being really and truly a constituent element of the state, were entitled to have a voice in its direction; while the former occupied merely the position of a body of stipendiaries maintained by the state for the purpose of surveying the moral condition of a limited portion of the empire, of which portion *two-thirds* of the population were dissentient either from the doctrines or the forms of those in favour of whom these stipendiaries were appointed. Accordingly, taking advantage of the prevalent excitement in the country in the year before mentioned, various "overtures" were introduced into the Kirk Courts for procuring the abolition of lay patronage, and the institution of the popular will or *veto* as a new element in the appointment of the parish ministers; and in the general assembly of that year overtures from eight presbyteries and three synods (a superior Kirk Court) were "brought up," as the phrase is, when a motion for the appointment of a committee of assembly to deliberate on the subject was rejected by a majority of forty-two votes. This majority in the following year had, through the vigorous efforts of the "movement party," degenerated to twelve, while overtures were produced from seventeen presbyteries and five synods;* and this increasing strength of these clerical agitators was culminated and confirmed in that very assembly by a proceeding which, illegal in its initials, has been the basis of all the violence and disorder which has since raged, and still

* Reports and Acts of Assembly, *passim*.

continues to run riot in the kirk. The proceeding referred to may be thus curtly enunciated.

In addition to the regular parish Kirks, there have been erected from time to time, as the population embracing the tenets of the Establishment appeared to increase, two classes of coadjutorial tenements, known by the names of parliamentary churches and chapels of ease,—a title somewhat provocative of ludicrous ideas: the former erected and endowed by parliamentary grants; the latter built by voluntary subscriptions, but not endowed, and of which the incumbents derive their means of subsistence either from the rents of seats in the chapels, or from a sum secured to them by a bond of provision executed by the trustees of these buildings, or from both these ways. But these ministers neither were, nor yet legally are, entitled to sit and act in the Kirk Courts either as ministers or elders; they have no title to interfere in curialities, no privilege of aiding in the administration of the government of the kirk at large, or any power of discipline, their sole commission and license being to exercise the *spiritual* duties of teaching, baptizing, and administering their sacrament, subject, not merely to the Kirk judicatories, but to the superintendence and interference of the individual ministers of the parishes in which they are located. Some of the reasons assigned for this exclusion—and, under the circumstances, they seem to us reasonable enough,—are the risk of the internal government of the Kirk being tampered with or swamped by a large proportion of ministers popularly elected; that the establishment of a new Kirk, with allotted bounds within a parish, must necessarily encroach on the prerogatives of the incumbent of that parish; that the Kirk of Scotland being a state institution, no minister should be entitled to have a voice in its administration, unless provided with a state endowment; that howsoever a chapel should be endowed, unless the permanency of such endowment is secured, the Kirk ought not to sanction it; and that in respect of the preceding grounds of establishment, no minister should be recognized until by the Civil Courts a new parish should be created for him, by the division of some other already existing one. Upon the long-winded arguments which have been projected on this matter it is not our intention to enter, our sole object being to draw the outlines of certified facts. Of course, as the ministers of these chapels had no position in the Kirk, the elders of their congregations had none either.

This exclusion being unpalatable to the parties affected

by it, occasioned many irritating and awkward collisions between them and their privileged brethren of the Establishment. The inherent democracy of Presbyterianism became more fully developed, and the principles of liberty and equality, under the masks of Christian sympathy and fraternal solicitude, impelled the transmission of several overtures and petitions to the general assemblies of 1832 and 1833, by whom they were considered, and committees appointed to report as to the admission of these chapel ministers and elders to all the rights and privileges of parochial clergy. In the assembly of the latter year, a "declaratory enactment" authorized the erection of separate parishes for the parliamentary chapels, and admitted thirty or forty of their ministers to the full position of the regular clergy. (The only tolerable feature in this was that these chapels being built, were also *endowed* by the state, and were in that respect better than the other class of tenements.) At the same assembly a motion for a like admission of the ministers of the "chapels of ease" was carried by a majority of four, and a committee was appointed to determine on the most suitable method of carrying the resolution into effect. Accordingly, in the assembly of next year (1834)* the report of the committee was worked up into another "declaratory enactment," by which some fifty or sixty of these *gentlemen of ease* were assumed into the precise *status* of the parochial incumbents, in the same fashion as were the parliamentary preachers before. But neither was this "declaratory enactment," nor its predecessor, transmitted to the respective presbyteries in accordance with the barrier act, (*antea*, p. 72), but straightway adopted and put into operation as a standing and duly authorized law of the Kirk, in complete defiance of, and at variance with, the judicious statute which tended to enforce calm and dispassionate consideration in all essential matters brought before the assemblies, checked and rendered of none avail all such instantaneous and crude legislation, and prevented all unseemly outrages against the community. Thus had the Kirk some century of intruders thrust into her senate by these extraordinary *escapades*.

Still matters did not rest here. In this last assembly a motion was submitted to the House by Lord Moncrieff, (editor of the pamphlet first noticed, the son of its author, and one of the judges of the Court of Session), which was afterwards

* The sort of tactics employed by the agitating party is well set forth in an article in the "Presbyterian Review" for January 1834, entitled "Hints towards the formation of the next General Assembly."

licked into shape and ultimately produced to the following effect: "That the general assembly declare that it is a fundamental law of this Church, that no pastor shall be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people; and, in order that this principle may be carried into full effect, the general assembly, with the consent of a majority of the presbyteries of this Church, do declare, enact, and ordain, that it shall be an instruction to presbyteries, that if, at the moderating in a call to a vacant pastoral charge, the major part of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation, and in full communion with the Church, shall disapprove of the person in whose favour the call is proposed to be moderated in, such disapproval shall be deemed sufficient ground for the presbytery rejecting such person, and that he shall be rejected accordingly, and due notice thereof forthwith given to all concerned; but that, if the major part of the said heads of families shall not disapprove of such person to be their pastor, the presbytery shall proceed with the settlement according to the rules of the Church: and further declare, that no person shall be held to be entitled to disapprove as aforesaid, who shall refuse, if required, solemnly to declare, in presence of the presbytery, that he is actuated by no factious or malicious motive, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interests of himself or the congregation." This, after a vigorous opposition, was carried by a majority of forty-six, and a set of regulations,—amounting to some two-and-twenty,—framed with a view to carry the objects of the assembly into effect, was appended to the overture and transmitted along with it. These will be found in Mr. Robertson's Report, Appendix to Vol. I, No. II. It may be observed that this motion was in all respects similar to one brought forward by the celebrated Dr. Chalmers (the Coryphæus of all these disturbances) in 1833, wherein the learned Theban maintained the novel doctrine that it was "a *fixed principle* in the law of the Kirk" that no minister should "be intruded into any pastoral charge contrary to the will of the congregation," and which was then lost by a majority of twelve. Now, although the resolutions of the assembly on Lord Moncrieff's motion, "in deference to doubts expressed on the subject," were converted into overtures and transmitted to the presbyteries for their approval, still the same were in the meantime converted into an *interim* act, and *carried into effect* before it obtained the sanction of a majority of the presbyteries; thus being—like the other measures relative to the chapel-of-ease individuals—in clear violation of the legal course. Consequently, when the

returns of overtures were made in the next assembly of 1835, a majority—effected solely by the introduction of the chapel ministers and elders who, as a point of political principle, adhered to the movement party,—was found to approve of the previous interim acts; and a motion, carried by a majority of forty or fifty, declared that the measure should be held and acted upon as a standing law of the Kirk. In this way was perpetrated the renowned VETO act, which has given rise to so many rebellious indecencies; and against which the Kirk has so ignorantly, perversely, and effectually knocked her head. It is pleasant to remark, *en passant*, that one of the earliest victims, if, indeed, not the very first, to the veto of the populace, was the eldest son of that very judge who carried out the measure. On a presentation by the crown to the parish of Falkirk of the reverend Henry Moncrieff, some insignificant (but in this instance potent) persons interfered their negation, and to this he was obliged to submit, until a less critical and easier satisfied congregation could be found among the weavers of Kilbride, where his ministry is, by common report, anything but efficient. Thus Lord Moncrieff was taught, like Perillus, “*arte perire suâ*.”*

The tree immediately produced its fruit. Possessed of a power to which,—whether legally or illegally conferred upon them it mattered not,—they had hitherto been strangers, the people commenced to work out the veto act, which came into operation on occasion of the first parochial vacancy that occurred after it was passed. And so effectually did they employ “their means and appliances,” that, in the space of three years thereafter, out of nearly one hundred vacancies, somewhat more than the half were supplied by parties appointed, not by the free-will of the patrons, but in accordance with petitions presented in their favour by the multitude, or selected by them out of a list submitted to their humour; the patrons being either indifferent to their own rights of presentation, or so disgusted with a menaced or expressed opposition, as to leave the affair to the people, rather than put themselves to the trouble of vindicating them. As might be anticipated, the people have frequently discovered, when too late, that they were not the best judges in their own cause, and would by no means object to the removal of *King Log*.

* It is likewise no less strange a coincidence that the son of Dr. Duncan of Ruthwell, who *seconded* Lord Moncrieff's motion, was the *second* rejected under the veto act. Truly may it be said, “The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the teeth of the children are set on edge!”

But indifference or concession was not always to be the order of the day, nor was the opposition to presentees to remain invariably slumbering or smothered. Patrons and presentees were found sufficiently determined to assert their righteous privileges, and congregations equally persevering in their attempts to thwart them. In the doughty earl of Kinnoull, Lord Lyon King of Arms, the patronage of Scotland found a vindicator, and the law thereof a resolute expositor. This said Lord Lyon (a person, but for his obstinacy in this matter, and notwithstanding his party-coloured robes of estate, of comparatively small consequence or renown), being justly irritated by a violent opposition made to his presentee in the parish of Trinity-Gask, (the third vacancy which occurred after the passing of the veto act), and by means of which, although the presentee was eventually triumphant,—even in the general assembly,—the parish was kept vacant for two years and two months, was resolved to make the parties experience his *claws*, should like circumstances occur to him again. Fortunately for his high resolve and the authority of the law, little more than a month elapsed after the parish of Trinity-Gask became vacant, when another, within the same presbytery, and from which it derived its name, that of Auchterarder, fell in the like situation. This, likewise, was in the gift of Lord Kinnoull. The exercise by his Lordship of his constitutional rights, and legitimate use of his own property, as patron of this now celebrated parish of Auchterarder,* did in this instance

* This presbytery of Auchterarder seems always to have been a refractory one, as well towards the Kirk as the State. We learn from the Acts of Assembly, vol. i., that on the 14th of May 1717, there was passed an "Act discharging presbyteries to use any formula in licensing probationers, and ordaining or admitting ministers, but such as is or shall be agreed unto by the general assembly; with a reference to the commission, of the presbytery of Auchterarder's carriage in that matter." This act was occasioned by an appeal by Mr. William Craig against the presbytery of Auchterarder, for their refusing to give him an extract of his license to preach the gospel, notwithstanding that he was approved by them in all the steps of his trials, and was actually licensed. This they did on the ground that "he did not satisfy them as to some articles of faith required of him by them, whereof this was one, viz.: *And, further, that I believe that it is not sound and orthodox to teach, that we must forsake sin in order to our coming to Christ, and instating us in covenant with God.*" The presbytery were "ordered by the assembly to give Mr. Craig the extract of license, and instruct their commission to see this obeyed; discharging that presbytery, and all others, from requiring any formulas or subscriptions, except such as are or shall be approved by the assemblies of the Kirk." On May 27, of the following year, an act was passed "accepting the interpretation of the doctrines, *awkwardly expressed*, by the presbytery of Auchterarder."

Some curious notices of the proceedings in this and other cases at that time before the assembly, are contained in the singular manuscript diary of Lord

accordingly give rise to the present grand struggle between Kirk and State, proceeding out of the great cause reported by Mr. Robertson, whereof the following is a brief statement, omitting the numerous wearisome details that do not immediately bear upon the main point.

On the 31st August 1834, the Kirk of Auchterarder, in the county of Perth, became vacant; and, on the 14th September, Lord Kinnoull opened a writ of presentation in favour of Mr. Robert Young, a licentiate of the Kirk of Scotland, highly recommended by the clergymen of Dundee, — to one of whom he had for sometime been a colleague, — as being “warmly attached to the interests of religion,” and determined to “exert all his power and influence in promoting the cause which he so highly admires.” At a meeting of the Auchterarder presbytery, held at Trinity-Gask on the 14th October thereafter, the presentation, with the accustomed certificates and relative writings, was given in, read, and appointed to lie on the table; and, at another meeting, on the 27th of the same month, the minutes of presbytery bear, that “the presbytery, taking into consideration that the late Rev. Charles Stewart, minister of Auchterarder, died on the 31st of August last, and that the twenty-third regulation of the interim-act of the late general assembly anent calls, intimates, that all cases in which the vacancies have taken place after the rising of said assembly, shall fall

Grange, preserved at Alloa House, the residence of the Earl of Mar: a volume which it is hoped may yet be printed. The diarist was a character *sui generis*. He was a son of Charles, tenth earl of Mar, called to the bar of Scotland in 1705, and in less than two years thereafter elevated to the bench, where he subsequently, in 1710, presided as lord justice clerk. Being a restless person, and keenly opposed to Sir Robert Walpole in politics, he became a candidate for the representation of the county of Stirling in parliament, in the view of strengthening the opposition. This induced Sir Robert to introduce the statute of 1734, incapacitating judges from acting as members of parliament. Lord Grange, however, was so determined in his hostility, that to qualify himself he resigned his seat on the bench, and was returned for Stirlingshire in 1734. But he did not succeed in ousting Walpole. He afterwards returned to the bar, and practised as an advocate.

His diary is an odd production, eminently characteristic of the man's eccentricity. His confessions are very free, and we regret that our limits do not permit us to select from them; but we cannot refrain from the following *morceau*. Being seriously unwell while at Utrecht, and afraid of death, and desirous of spiritual aid, he says, “I could not think of taking the assistance of any of the divines at Utrecht; for being all Calvinists, like our Scots presbyterians, I had no confidence in them, but supposed they were narrow-spirited and pre-judiced creatures”!!! The Kirk would be highly edified by the publication of this diary.

under the operation of the regulations and relative act of assembly anent calls; finds, therefore, that they must proceed to fill up the vacancy of Auchterarder according to said act and relative regulations. The presbytery, also, considering that all the documents usually given in, in cases of this kind, have already been laid on the table, along with the presentation by the Earl of Kinnoull to Mr. Robert Young, preacher of the gospel, to be minister of the church and parish of Auchterarder, did, in pursuance of the first regulation of the act of assembly anent calls, *in so far sustain the presentation*, as to find themselves prepared to appoint a day for moderating in a call to Mr. Young." They then appointed one of their number to preach in the Kirk on the following Sunday, and to announce that Mr. Young would preach there on the 16th and 23d of November; and it was arranged, that the presbytery should "meet in the church of Auchterarder in the first Tuesday of December next (1834), being the second Tuesday of that month, *to moderate in a call in the usual way* to Mr. Young, to be minister of that parish, the moderator to preach and preside. In all which sentence of the presbytery Mr. Moncrieff" (the law-agent of Lord Kinnoull, who attended on the part of his lordship, and gave in the writ of presentation) "acquiesced, and took instruments in the clerk's hands. From which sentence of the presbytery, in so far as it at all sustained the presentation, Messrs. Mackenzie and Walker dissented, on the ground that by so doing, the presbytery did seem to homologate and approve of patronage."

On the 2d of December, accordingly, the presbytery met at Auchterarder, for the purpose of "moderating in the call" to Mr. Young, when, in the words of the minutes, "there was produced and read a call to Mr. Robert Young to be minister of the church and parish of Auchterarder; and an opportunity was given to the heritors, elders, heads of families, and other parishioners, to sign it. Mr. Lorimer then signed for the earl of Kinnoull, as patron, being his factor; and the call was further signed by Michael Tod and Peter Clerk, heads of families. The presbytery then proceeded, in terms of the third regulation of the interim-act of last assembly anent calls, to give an opportunity to the male heads of families, being members of the congregation, and in full communion with the Church, whose names stand in the roll which has been inspected by the presbytery, to give in special objections or dissents; *when no special objections were given in*. A mandate from Mr. Robert Young, presen-

tee to the parish of Auchterarder, to Archibald Reid, Esq., writer in Perth, was given in, authorising him to appear as his agent in this case; which mandate having been read, was sustained. Compeared William Thomson, session-clerk of Auchterarder, and, being asked, produced a roll of male heads of families in the parish of Auchterarder, in terms of the regulations of the act of the last assembly anent calls. At this stage, Mr. Reid was heard, and objected to the presbytery either receiving or acting upon said roll, inasmuch as the same was not made up either within the time, or in the manner prescribed by act of assembly. The presbytery feel themselves obliged to repel said objection, they having already sanctioned the roll as given in by the kirk-session, and as containing a correct list of male heads of families, in communion with the Church, within the two months of the rising of the assembly, and after the last dispensation of the Lord's Supper in the parish. Against which sentence Mr. Reid protested, and appealed to the next meeting of the synod of Perth and Stirling, for reasons to be given in in due time, took instruments in the clerk's hands, and craved extracts, not only of the proceedings of this day, but of all former proceedings of the presbytery, in reference to the vacancy and settlement of this parish, &c., and also certified copies of the said roll, and of all other documents produced to the presbytery, either on this day or at former meetings, in reference to the case, in so far as the same are not expressed in the minutes.

“The presbytery agree to give the proper extracts and papers relating to their procedure in this case to Mr. Reid; but enjoin their clerk to give none till their next meeting, the minutes of this day's proceedings not being yet extended. It was then moved and seconded, that the presbytery do now proceed in this case, in terms of the regulations of the interim-act of last assembly anent calls. It was also moved and seconded, that an appeal having been taken against the decision of the presbytery over-ruling the objection taken respecting the roll, the presbytery sist procedure till that appeal be disposed of. After some discussion, the mover and seconder of the second motion, with the leave of the court, withdrew it, upon the understanding that they are not to be held as approving of the first motion. The presbytery, then, in accordance with the first motion, agreed to proceed in this case in terms of the regulations of the act of assembly;

against which sentence Mr. Reid protested and appealed to the next meeting of the synod of Perth and Stirling," &c.*

It also appears from the minutes, that "the presbytery then proceeded to afford an opportunity to the male heads of families, whose names stand upon the roll, to give in dissents from the call and settlement of Mr. Robert Young as minister of the parish;" when 287 heads of families, out of 330 in the roll, appeared personally and intimated their dissent, and their names were recorded by the clerk of the presbytery. The presbytery then "found, in terms of the ninth regulation, that dissents have been lodged by an apparent majority of the persons on the roll inspected by the presbytery. The presbytery did then, in terms of the ninth regulation, adjourn the proceedings in this case to the next meeting, to be held at Auchterarder on Tuesday the 16th current." At this adjourned meeting, they were pleased to find that none had withdrawn their dissents, and therefore, that a majority of those on the roll still dissented. Mr. Young did not appear at the meeting either personally or by his agent; his appeal to the synod of Perth and Stirling was dismissed by that body on 21st April 1835; and he then appealed from this dismissal of the synod to the general assembly, which, on the 30th May following, did "on the merits dismiss the appeal, and find that the proceedings of the presbytery are not liable to any valid objections, and remit to the presbytery to proceed further in the matter, in terms of the interim acts of last assembly." The presbytery of Auchterarder resumed the case on 7th July; and in obedience to the aforesaid decision of the assembly, and in terms of the interim acts of the previous year, they, as the minutes narrate, did then "reject Mr. Young, the presentee to Auchterarder, so far as regards the particular presentation on their table, and the occasion of this vacancy in the parish of Auchterarder, and do forthwith direct their clerk to give notice of this their determination to the patron, the presentee, and the elders of the parish of Auchterarder."

Mr. Young justly considered, that in rejecting him and the presentation in his favour, before taking him upon trials, the presbytery had illegally acted *ultra vires* and in violation

* We have cited these presbyterian minutes at length, from Mr. Robertson's report, in preference to giving a mere summary of them, with the view of conveying to our readers some sort of idea of the mode in which these Scottish heretics conduct their ecclesiastical court proceedings.

of those rights which were vested in him by the writ of presentation from Lord Kinnoull, and sustained by them. He therefore brought no appeal against their judgment before any of the Kirk judicatories, but, together with Lord Kinnoull, instituted a civil suit in the court of session,—called an action of declarator,—against the members of the presbytery, the heritors of the parish, and the collector of the Widow's Fund, for the purpose of having it found, that he "had been legally, validly, and effectually presented to the church and parish of Auchterarder;" that the presbytery were bound to take him upon trials, and if found by them to be properly qualified, then to receive and admit him as minister of said kirk; that their refusal to do so was illegal and injurious to him, and that if they should still persist in refusing him, that the stipend, manse (parsonage-house), and glebe, and all other emoluments connected with the kirk and parish, should be declared to belong to and be paid to him by the heritors during the whole of his life; and that in the event of this being so found, that then the trustees of the fund established by statute for behoof of the widows and children of the ministers of the Kirk of Scotland,—to whom, in cases of delay in collating to a benefice the vacant stipend, by 54 Geo. III, cap. 169, is payable,—had no right to interfere with the fruits of the said living: or, that the said stipend and emoluments should be paid to Lord Kinnoull, the patron, during Mr. Young's life; and concluding for the costs of the suit.* Defences were made by each of the three parties called into court; but as the pecuniary points were afterwards waived, on account of the importance of having the case decided first as between the plaintiffs and the Kirk, the presbytery, at their own request, became the sole defendants. This suit commenced in October 1835, was argued in presence of the whole thirteen judges for *ten days* in the latter end of 1837, and only decided on 10th March 1838; *seven days* having been occupied in the delivery of their Lordships' opinions. So minutely were the facts of the case, and the points, as well legal as historical, sifted and examined on each side; and such was the cool deliberation and profound attention devoted by the judges to this cause, which, owing to the violent

* It was gravely debated in the general assembly of 1838, whether they should not deprive Mr. Young of his license as a preacher, on account of his audacity in bringing the conduct of the Kirk under review of the court of session!! They prudently, however, in this instance, restrained their wrath.

behaviour of the majority of the Kirk, had powerfully agitated the people of Scotland; and for that reason alone,—for the principles of the case were clear and self-evident,—required unusually patient investigation at their hands. The court, by a majority of eight to five, decided that the matter at issue was within their jurisdiction; that the patron having validly presented the suit, was competent against the presbytery, who were bound to take the presentee on trial; and that, by refusing to do so, and rejecting him on the sole ground that a majority of the male heads of families in connexion with the Kirk dissented, they had acted illegally, in violation of their duty, to the detriment of the plaintiffs, and contrary to the provisions of the statutes, more particularly that of Queen Anne. Dissatisfied with this solemn decision of the court of session, the defendants appealed the cause to the House of Lords, by whom, on the 2d and 3d of May, 1839, the judgment of the court below was unanimously AFFIRMED, with expressions of surprise that any difference of opinion could have occurred in the inferior court!

What then did the presbytery and general assembly do? Did the former immediately retrace their steps and proceed to induct Mr. Young; or did the latter, which met a few days after the decision in the House of Lords, declare, that since it had been determined in the court of ultimate resort that their veto resolutions were illegal, and all proceedings under them inept, that therefore they rescinded their interim acts and ordered the presbyteries to proceed thereafter according to the previously established and only legal practice? Nothing of the kind. The leading men of the moderate party in the assembly did indeed, as in duty bound, endeavour to effect a repeal of the Veto Act, which caused all the disquietude, expressly grounding their exertions on the circumstance that the supreme tribunals had declared it to “infringe on civil and patrimonial rights, with which the Church had often and expressly required that its judicatories should not intermeddle, as being matters incompetent to them, and not within their jurisdiction;” but their laudable propositions were negatived by large majorities in a very turbulent assembly.* With respect to the presbytery; after the decision in

* On this occasion the Earl of Dalhousie, disgusted by the conduct of these clerical rebels, immediately quitted the assembly, declaring his determination to have no further connexion with their judicatories, in these strong terms: “I was born a presbyterian, and a presbyterian, please God, I will die. I

the House of Lords, the lord ordinary of the court of session (Murray), to whom in usual form the cause was remitted, pronounced an "interlocutor," or order of court, on the 8th of June 1839, declaring that the presbytery and whole members thereof "are still bound and astricted to make trial of the qualifications of the pursuer, the Rev. Robert Young, as presentee to the church and parish of Auchterarder; and if in their judgment, after trial and examination in common form, he is found qualified, to receive and admit him minister of the church and parish of Auchterarder, according to law. On the 2d of July, an extract, or certified copy, of this was presented by the plaintiffs to the presbytery, requesting them to proceed forthwith as therein directed, when two motions were made in the presbytery; the first, to the effect that they should proceed in terms of the decree of the court to take Mr. Young on his trials on the first Tuesday of August; the second, to refer the document *simpliciter* to the ensuing meeting of the commission of assembly, in August. This latter being carried, a notarial protest was served on the presbytery, intimating that they should be held liable for all consequences arising from their refusal to give effect to the judgment of the court of session and House of Lords. The minority of the presbytery, who voted for the first motion, replied to this protest, stating that they had always been, and still were, willing to obey and do what the court wished, and protested against being held liable for the deeds of the majority. The plaintiffs then raised an action of damages against the Rev. Mr. Ferguson and others, forming the majority of the presbytery, in February 1840, when the court decided that the action was relevant, that it fell within their jurisdiction, and that the acts of the presbytery formed good

will do the duties of an elder in the parish in which I was ordained, but I will not serve in your inferior courts; I will not come as a member to your general assembly. I will not form part of the governing body of an established Church, which, with no invasion by the state of any of her holy and inherent gifts, in defence of no sacred principle, but for a matter of mere ecclesiastical polity, has set herself up in an attitude—for so it is, gloss it as you will—in an attitude of dogged defiance, of virtual disobedience, to the declared law of the land. I will not, by my presence even, be responsible for a line of policy which I believe is at variance with all her own best interests, and which, in a few years, will leave her existing, no doubt, as a Church, but which, in my conscience, I believe has already rung out her knell as the Established Church of Scotland." One might have supposed that this bold and determined conduct, this prophetic and distinct reproof, by one of the hereditary legislators of the country, and one warmly attached to the Kirk, would have had some effect on these people. But "quos Deus vult perdere," etc.

grounds of damage in law. Against this decision the pertinacious ministers brought another appeal before the House of Lords, and again the Kirk came off second best. On the 9th of last August the judgment of the court of session was UNANIMOUSLY SUSTAINED; when the lord chancellor and three ex-chancellors (two of them being Scotsmen, Scots lawyers, Presbyterians by birth and education, and one of them the son of a Scottish Presbyterian clergyman),—all and severally expressed their strongest disapprobation of the illegal and insolent conduct of the Kirk. The only other point at present in this branch of the many-headed* case of Auchterarder is to determine the amount of damages due to Mr. Young, the presentee; and this a jury will at once settle on the abstract and plain question—*What is the life of Mr. Young worth deprived of his living?*

What the conduct of the majority of the Kirk will be under these, for them, most “untoward events,” remains to be seen. At present, although sorely stricken and subdued, they still breathe the language of insane defiance. Their great organ, *The Witness* newspaper, in commenting on the decision of the House of Lords, says:—

“The Church cannot retrace her steps. She cannot intrude Mr. Young into the parish of Auchterarder, or give up her veto law or non-intrusion principle. To do so now, would involve a sacrifice of principle tenfold more heinous than if it had been done after the first Auchterarder judgment. It would be an explicit acknowledgment of the jurisdiction of the civil courts in spiritual matters, and a surrender of the Church’s entire independence.

“Again, the Church cannot recognize this judgment of the House of Lords, as laying any obligation at all on the consciences of her office-bearers, beyond the mere endurance of whatever penalty may be inflicted. So far as the regulation of their conduct, in their spiritual capacity and in spiritual affairs, is concerned, *they will entirely disregard this judgment. The House of Lords has no*

* Besides these two leading suits already disposed of, there are, at least, other three still depending. One raised by the heritors to ascertain whether they ought to pay the stipend to the patron or to the widow’s fund; a second, by the original plaintiffs, to have it found that the minority of the presbytery are entitled to admit Mr. Young, if qualified, and to prevent the majority from interfering with them in so doing; and a third, at the instance of the same parties, against the majority of presbytery and the special commission of general assembly, against their proceeding to settle a minister in the parish of Auchterarder, in terms of a sentence of the general assembly of 1841, in defiance of Mr. Young and the law. In all these the Kirk will be cast, with full costs.

*right, by the constitution, to lay down the law to the Church courts in the exercise of their spiritual functions"!!!!**

They then go on to state, in cumbrous phraseology, that they must as a *dernier resort* apply to the legislature; and that if it supports and vindicates the law of the land, at the expense of their absurdities (which it will infallibly do), there is an end of the establishment, and off it goes!

So likewise, in the presbytery of Glasgow, we find, among others, such delectable sentiments uttered as these: Mr. Gibson "could not see how any man, having the spirit of a man, could submit to act as the officer of a mere civil court, in the capacity of a minister of Christ. The decision of the House of Lords went to the destruction of the Church; it seemed to him tantamount to the total breaking up of their Church courts; and the sooner it was resisted the better." And Dr. Smyth "did not see how it was possible to carry on the government of Christ's house at all, if they were not protected against the consequences of the decision of the House of Lords. They would be degraded into mere civil officers, have their consciences coerced, and would be totally divested of the character of a spiritual Church. The Church must follow out fearlessly her line of duty in this matter."† Bravo, the *Kirk* militant!

Omitting some ten or twelve other *legal exercitations*—each of them the comprehensive parent of many other suits—arising out of these questions of the lawful exercise of patronage, and the unlawful admission of *quoad sacra* ministers into the Kirk courts, we shall briefly speak of one produced from the anti-patronage rebellion, which has created even more sensation, and more universal disgust among every other class except the non-intrusionists. We refer to the case of the presbytery of STRATHBOGIE.

The circumstances are briefly these. In June 1837, the Earl of Fife presented Mr. John Edwards to the vacant Kirk and parish of Marnoch, in the presbytery of Strathbogie. The presentation was sustained by the presbytery, but the presentee was vetoed by the people in the November ensuing.

* "The Witness," Edinburgh newspaper, 13th August 1842. The horrible blasphemies which from time to time disgrace the columns of this periodical are, we trust in all Christian charity, imputable to insanity alone. Their rabid abuse of Catholicism moves us not, except to pity the misguided scribblers.

† Report, in "Edinburgh Evening Courant," newspaper, of the meeting of Glasgow Presbytery, on 19th August 1842.

As the principles of the veto act had been declared illegal by the court of session in the before-mentioned case of Auchterarder, and that case was then under appeal to the House of Lords, the presbytery referred themselves for advice to the synod of Moray, as to their mode of proceeding under the presentation. The synod instructed them to give effect to the veto act; but from this instruction they appealed to the general assembly, held in May 1838,—before which also a complaint, at the instance of the parishioners against the presbytery, for refusing to obey the synod, was entertained,—and the assembly repelled the appeal of the presbytery, and remitted to them to reject Mr. Edwards. Lord Fife, upon this, issued a new presentation, in favour of one Mr. Henry; whereupon Mr. Edwards applied to the court of session for an interdict to prevent Mr. Henry from presenting himself for induction, and the presbytery from inducing him, or doing any other act which tended to prejudice or affect the rights pertaining to the first presentation. This interdict was granted by the court. Mr. Edwards also raised a suit of “declarator” against the presbytery, heritors, and collector of the widows’ fund—as was done in the Auchterarder case—to have it found that his presentation was valid, that the presbytery were bound to take him on his probation, and that his rejection under the veto act was altogether illegal.

These proceedings being notorious to the presbytery, they, in July 1838, resolved, by a majority of seven out of eleven, “that the court of session having authority in matters relating to the induction of ministers, and having interdicted all proceedings on the part of the presbytery in this case, and it being the duty of the presbytery to submit to their authority regularly interposed, the presbytery do delay all procedure until the matters in dispute be legally determined.” Of this resolution the minority complained to the synod, who referred it in the following year to the general assembly, by whom it was further referred to their commission, with ample powers to determine upon it. It may be observed that the Auchterarder decision had been affirmed by the House of Lords immediately previous to this meeting of the assembly. The commission instructed the presbytery to suspend proceedings,—except in the case of Mr. Edwards withdrawing his opposition, which very improbable event was to be reported to the commission,—and, as the presbytery had resolved that the court of session had authority in the induction of ministers, they were prohibited by the commission

from taking any steps towards inducting Mr. Edwards before the next meeting of assembly in 1840.

Mr. Edwards, as might be presumed, was successful in his application to the civil court, and its decrees were notarially intimated to the moderator of the presbytery, who, in September, appointed a meeting to be held at Huntly, in the ensuing November, for the purpose of considering these decrees and the resolution of the commission. At this meeting the same majority came to the resolution that they were bound to obey the decree of the court of session, and to proceed to the settlement of Mr. Edwards, whose trials they then appointed to take place, thereby acting in opposition to the will of the commission. This determination, elaborated by a rigid sense of duty, but painful to these gentlemen from the circumstance of their being thereby compelled to dispute the commands of their ecclesiastical superiors, was communicated by them to the commission in a courteous, firm, and deferential report.

On the 11th of December this high court of the most godly Calvinistic inquisition assembled; and, having reversed the whole proceedings of the presbytery, they declared that these constituted "deliberate contumacy" of the commission, and "gross malversation of their judicial functions;" prohibited them from inducting Mr. Edwards, and announced to that gentleman, that if he in any way presumed to kick against their sovereign will he should be dealt with as "contumacious." And they then, in consequence of their having obeyed that law of the land to which they and their Kirk owe their existence, SUSPENDED the seven ministers from all their ministerial and judicial functions, until they should submit to the orders of the Kirk-judicatories; constituted the minority into a full omnipotential presbytery; and appointed some members of the commission to preach in their stead, in the respective kirks, on an early Sunday, and to intimate from their own pulpits the sentence of deposition of these loyal and dutiful subjects!

This was intolerable: the ministers who had thus been prosecuted immediately craved the protection of the court, justly assuming that as they were determined to obey the law they were fully entitled to its support. They maintained that, as their alleged contumacy consisted in their resolution to obey the law, all proceedings adopted by any court or body recognized by the said law, tending either to interfere with or to punish them for this obedience, were manifestly incom-

petent, illegal, unwarrantable, and frustrative of the ends of justice, besides being grossly in defiance of the supreme civil authority. That their conduct could not be construed as contumacious; that in all matters illegal the ecclesiastical was subject to the civil court; and they accordingly besought the court to suspend the proceedings of the commission complained of, and to interdict and prohibit the minority of the presbytery, and all others, from interfering with or molesting them, either by giving effect to the orders of the commission or holding any presbyterial meetings, and also to interdict and prohibit the persons appointed by the commission from preaching or intimating the sentence of deposition in their kirks or parishes. This the court most absolutely did, inhibiting these rebels from intruding into the kirks, kirkyards, or schoolhouses, or using the kirk-bell of their respective parishes. The disgraceful scenes which ensued, when, in defiance of the court, they attempted to intimate the sentence of the commission in the parishes, may be seen recorded in the columns of the provincial journals of the time. We cannot cumber our pages with the details.

Protected thus in their rights, and their conduct approved of by the supreme civil courts, these gentlemen quietly continued to exercise their ministerial vocation in their parishes,—supported by their people, who publicly declared their attachment to and rallied round them,—but subjected to the annoyance of a file of intruding predicants, who from time to time harangued and administered the sacraments of the Kirk to such of the populace as were gullible enough to be so led, in apartments hired in the different villages; and to the attacks of insidious handbills and placards industriously distributed with the view to alienate the affections of their congregations from them. In consequence of this, they were cited by the commission in March 1840, to appear personally at the bar of the following assembly, in May, “to answer why they should not be dealt with as having violated the sentence of the last meeting of commission, by exercising the ministerial and judicial functions, and having applied to the civil court for a suspension of the said sentence, and for an interdict against its being carried into effect, and having executed the same, and to have such sentence pronounced thereupon as to the assembly may seem meet.” They then presented a petition and complaint to the assembly, praying them to rescind the sentence of the commission, and to find that it had exceeded its powers in suspending them; but the assembly dismissed

their appeal, and homologating the sentence of the commission, cited them to appear at their bar. On the 28th of May, six of the suspended clergymen (the seventh, a highly respected old man—Mr. Cruickshank, of Glass, since deceased—being prevented by his age and infirmities) appeared; when the assembly resolved that they were guilty of contumacy, and appointed a committee to “deal with”—that is, to confer and argue with,—or to employ a vulgar, but, in this instance, peculiarly apposite and expressive word—to *bother* them, and cited them again to appear at their bar a few days thereafter. They attended accordingly, and at the same time the *dealing* committee reported that their interviews, as might have been foreseen, had terminated unsuccessfully: that these gentlemen, to whose courteous and kind behaviour (much contrasted to their own) they bore ample testimony, still persisted in their determination to obey the law; and delivered to the assembly a written statement, signed by the six and adhered to by the seventh, couched in firm but most respectful terms, declaring their adhesion to the line of conduct which they had hitherto pursued. The assembly then, by a majority of upwards of sixty, continued the suspension of these clergymen from all their functions, ministerial and judicial, for twelve months, until the meeting of assembly in 1841; and directed that the commission which was to meet in the following August, should, if they had not by that time “abandoned their sinful principles,” serve them with a *libel* (indictment), and have them regularly tried for the offence. This they were pleased to consider “a mild punishment.” They also cited Mr. Edwards to appear before the said commission in August, for violating their injunctions by continuing to prosecute the maintenance of his legal rights.

Against the deliverance of the assembly the seven clergymen protested, and again applied to the court of session for an interdict against, and prohibitive of, the commissioners of the assembly and all others carrying into effect the resolutions of the assembly; as also for the necessary protection, as in their previous applications to the court. This, like all the former petitions, was fully implemented and warranted by their lordships.

To conclude this disgraceful episode in the dark history of the presbyterian Kirk of Scotland:—in the following assembly of 1841, these seven loyal and good men were peremptorily DEPOSED from their office of ministry, for the sole reason that they preferred obedience to that law of their country which

had permitted them to hold, and had supported them in, that ministerial position, rather than to the arrogant self-will of their illegal superiors. And thus seven parishes, containing some thousand souls, were by the *fiat* of the assembly deprived of that spiritual guidance provided for them by the state; and their pastors, to whom they were ardently attached, branded as infamous by their own brethren: and Mr. Edwards, because of his insisting in his just titles, was by the self-same rabble—they merit no better epithet—deprived of his license as a preacher of the gospel, and rendered incapable of ever obtaining orders in the Kirk, to which he had set apart his prospects in life!!! Fortunately, however, for these gentlemen, and for the good order of the community, the law can vindicate itself; and by means of it they occupy precisely the same position which they previously did, in so far as their privileges are concerned. They have experienced sympathy from every right-thinking person, without distinction of creed or political party, save from the members of the persecuting sect: their congregations flock around them as usual, and the most eminent men of the moderate party in every presbytery have resolved—and have acted upon the resolution—to maintain them in their *status* as clergymen, and as such to assist them in their annual dispensation of the sacrament and other ordinances, regardless of the terrors of the assembly, which can and may deprive them also on account of this their fraternal charity. The non-intrusive peripatetics nevertheless *do intrude* into their parishes; and, by way of proving the validity of their clerical mission, their respect for their sovereign,—in defiance of whose decrees all their proceedings are taken,—and their reverence for their Maker, they have in several instances, by working upon credulous and ignorant parents, presumed to re-baptize children already baptized by the proper clergymen, and in one instance to administer offices of religion for a man notoriously an adulterer, and under the previous censure of one of the clergymen since deposed, and his Kirk-session!!

Our readers have now probably had more than enough of this same Kirk. The two great legal causes which we have dissected sufficiently explain the points at issue between it and the state, and manifest the modern rebellion in the north. It is unnecessary to notice the cases of Culsalmond, of Glass, of Lethendy, and the many others in a greater or less advanced state of forensic discussion. They all emanate from the like sources, and will terminate in similar results. But it is pleasant to observe that by its own wayward and wilful

conduct the Kirk has virtually *unkirked* itself; and that its ministers may now, one and all of them, if they shall so think fit, indulge in what enormities they please without incurring any forfeiture of their clerical rights. The constitution of the Kirk being illegally self-altered, all that is done in their courts since that alteration is null and of non-effect. Thus, a minister of a parish convicted of the crime of theft (not in a criminal but ecclesiastical court), and deposed therefore, still continues to officiate and draw the fruits of his incumbency; and so does another under censure of suspension for immorality. And thus it will be, until either the Kirk becoming repentant, and rescinding all that it has improperly executed, is restored to its former legal position; or until, being shivered to fragments by its own effervescence, it is swept away, not only as a state institution, but from even the name of a Church.

In parties professing to be Christians, or men of common decency or common sense, conduct such as that of the majority of the Scottish establishment is altogether preposterous. If they object to patronage, and hold it to be "unchristian and devilish,"—we quote the *ipsissima verba* of one of their leaders,—and "an invention of the dark ages," why do they either accept it as a means of entering the Kirk, or, having accepted it and altered their opinions, do they any longer occupy and fatten upon the livings which it provides for them? Such behaviour is worse than inconsistent. If they demur to submit to the law which affords them vitality, and repudiate the principles of a state establishment, why do they not at once give effect to their scruples by severing themselves from its protection and support? From this dilemma they now indeed propose to extricate themselves, as was mentioned on a former page, by a direct application to parliament for permission to have things—*all their own way!* That is the sum and substance of their intention, so far as may be inferred from their recent manifestoes and harangues: and so, with their usual inconsistency, they talk of appealing to the legislature, when their great organ, the *Presbyterian Review*, says, in reference to this very legislature, that "to commit any portion of the affairs of the Church of Scotland to the management of a British parliament, would be to place all that is most precious to her members at the mercy of men who neither understand her value, nor perchance care for her existence."* We do not pretend to the gift of prophecy, or

* Presb. Rev. ii. 260.

to the *second sight*, neither do we affect to be cognizant of the secrets of a cabinet; but of this we feel assured, that parliament will either say to the Kirk, "First obey the law as it already stands, and *then* we shall inquire into your alleged grievances;" or else, that being exasperated by the conduct of these fanatics, a bill of conformity will be passed, declaratory that they who do not choose to adhere to the establishment as already instituted, and obey the statutes which corroborate it, shall straightway vacate their livings in favour of more sober-thinking individuals, who shall be content to suffer the law to interpret itself. Had this been done at the outset, or had the Court of Session, on the first violation of its caveats, incarcerated and fined the offending parties—as it has full powers to do—we should in all likelihood have had no more of this concrete absurdity. But every leniency has hitherto been exercised to this misguided and presumptuous sect, and if other measures fail to be adopted they will have themselves alone to thank for it. And indeed it were high time that active remedies should be applied, when we hear in their fanatical ravings the cry to arms,—when they talk of receiving their "covenant," and "betaking themselves with their bibles and broadswords to the hill-side,"—were it not that their impotent fury excites mirth and pity rather than resentment, and that their peculiar species of insanity is happily confined to their own miserable party. Whom have they on their side? Certainly not the state or the law, which they have disclaimed and insulted; not the aristocracy, more than two-thirds of which are prelatists, and concerning whom they have said, that "if the Church trusts for support to a landed *aristocracy*, she leans upon a spear which will pierce her side;"* not the people, of whom they complain that "so large a proportion is hostile to her," and of whom they calculate that "if the increase of the population go on in the same rate as it has lately done, in a few years the members of the establishment will form the minor part of the nation;" and mournfully add, "but ere matters reach that point, the Church as an establishment *must* fall."† Of this there can be but small doubt, and its downfall is even more immediate than its own vaticinators imagine, although Dr. Candlish asserts that "the Auchterarder decision breaks up the establishment." We cannot be supposed to sympathize in these jeremiads, or be grieved at the just retribution awarded to them

* Presb. Rev. v. 70.

† Ibid. p. 69.

by their own acts and deeds. Considering its petulance,—setting apart all other grounds,—the establishment has all along been too well provided for and too much caressed; and thus, like a pampered menial, it flies in the face of its master. “Pride,” says the wise man, “goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall.” So fares it with the Kirk. In a future number we shall recreate ourselves by a glance at some of its *bizarceries* in the olden time, illustrated from its own most authentic records, and so by reflection exhibit this “rare monster” in a fitting speculum.*

ART. III.—1. *Cenni sulle principali cose a vedersi in Genova e suoi contorni*. Ridotti da Augusto Cortilli. 12mo. Genova. 2. *Nouveau Guide de Gènes et de ses Environs*. 12mo. Gènes: 1842.

3. *Guida alle Bellezze di Genova e sue Riviere*. Compilata da Gius. Bancheri. 8vo. Distribuzione prima. Genova: 1842.

IT is now several years since, under a title similar to the present, we attempted a brief notice of the munificent public charities of Rome.† In order to compress within the compass of an ordinary article a subject so varied and comprehensive, it was necessary to overlook many important and interesting particulars, and to treat the rest with a degree of brevity which almost reduced our notice to the form of a catalogue. Indeed, those who have had the happiness of visiting these admirable institutions, and witnessing the practical working of the active benevolence that characterizes their system, will feel the impossibility of doing justice to the subject within such brief limits; and even Mgr. Morichini, whose delightful work we attempted, in our former notice, to methodize and condense, has found it necessary to add another volume to the new edition which he has just published. We have long been sensible that the interest of the subject was far from being exhausted, and entertained the idea of re-

* This article was prepared and intended for insertion in our last number. Since then, important measures, fully bearing out our predictions, have come into play. But as to enter upon them at present would too much fatigue the attention of our readers, we shall defer a digest of them till the following number; by which time it is not at all improbable that the “Reformat Kirk” will be “among the things that were.”

† See vol. vi. pp. 111, &c.

suming it at some convenient opportunity, but circumstances have occurred to prevent the fulfilment of our purpose; and even now, instead of following out the account of the Roman charities into further detail,* we prefer to pursue the subject through the other cities of Italy, as Genoa, Naples, Florence, Milan, Turin, and Venice.

Since we last addressed ourselves to this grateful task, it has pleased Providence to bring about, silently, and as if without human agency, in the public mind of Britain, a revolution which not even the most sanguine could have anticipated. We recollect that, upon that occasion, before entering upon the particulars of the present condition of public charity in Rome, we thought it necessary to examine, at some length, a prejudice which then existed, and for which we were sorry to produce one of the most popular authorities in our modern literature;—that it is to the Reformation, and to the enlightenment which it carried in its train, the world is indebted for that active spirit of benevolence which is displayed in the modern institutions of public charity throughout Europe.† We thought it right to go to the pains of testing the truth of this assertion by the history of the public charities of Rome; and that we might make the case against ourselves as unfavourable as it could be made, and thus render the refutation more satisfactory, we selected for the enquiry the three centuries before the Reformation—a period of the greatest anarchy and frequent distress in Rome. Yet, even with the limited means of information then at our command, we were able to trace, during this short period, the origin of no less than twenty different foundations, all the fruit of public or private benevolence, all purely devoted to charitable purposes, many of them of great extent and rich endowments, and the greater number existing to the present day, living monuments of the philanthropy and munificence of those calumniated ages.

We cannot return to the subject without expressing our humble gratitude to Him in whose hands are the hearts of

* For this interesting subject we refer the reader to Mgr. Morichini's *Istituti di Publica Carità in Roma*. It has been translated into French within the last year.

† The new edition of this most interesting work may serve to shew that the charity of Rome is at this moment as active, if not more active, than at any former period. It contains an account of many new institutions, founded since the publication of the last edition (1835). We may mention the new Deaf and Dumb Institution, the Asylum for the cholera orphans, the Penitentiary of the Holy Family, the Conservatorio of the Sacred Heart, and that founded by the saintly and indefatigable Abbate Pallotti.—p. 1.

+ See Edinburgh Encyclopædia, xii. 122.

men, for the happy change which has taken place since we last wrote. A more intimate knowledge of the history and social character of the middle ages has done much to remove this and many similar prejudices. It would seem as if the two opposite extremes of public opinion had met upon this ground. The writings of Hurter, Voight, and even of the more insidious Ranke, have had their influence upon the philosophic party; and among the members of the new school of high-church men, the reverential study of the history of those times in contemporary monuments, and the researches of such generous and enthusiastic spirits as Digby, Rio, and Montalembert, have carried numbers in advance of many a degenerate Catholic, with whom the sneer of a shallow philosopher, or the sophism of a worldly-minded utilitarian, outweighs the true Christian wisdom and the warm and uncalculating piety which distinguished the social institutions of our simple forefathers. We doubt not that there are many who, when we last sought to disprove the silly calumny to which we referred above, would most probably have turned the page with indifference, if not contempt, and who, notwithstanding, are now prepared to go the entire way with us in acknowledging the benign influence of the Catholic religion, as the only true source, and the only solid foundation of social happiness and civilization.

Among the cities of Italy, the charitable institutions of Naples certainly merit, by their number and munificence, as well as by the variety of the wants to which they are intended to minister, the first place after those of Rome. But Genoa is an old favourite of ours; and we trust our readers will pardon us, if we indulge the pleasurable feelings which a recent sojourn of a few days has created, by laying before them, in preference, while our recollections are yet fresh, a brief account of the principal public charities of this queenly city.

And indeed we may claim this honourable place for Genoa upon less personal grounds. How many a thrilling recollection, not inferior in interest to those of any other Italian state, does the name of the old republic recall;—from the day when, a century and a half before our era, the Roman republic was called in to arbitrate between her and the Veturians, till that on which, in common with the rest of Italy, she was swallowed up in that overgrown and unnatural empire which, for a season, all but overran the world, when

“France got drunk with blood, to vomit crime!”

How many a brilliant name does it number in its annals!—Fieschi, Grimaldi, Boccanegra, Brignole, Doria, Spinola, Pallavicini,—names familiar to the student of general history, but possessing a more tender claim upon the memory of their countrymen, in the monuments of charity and religion which they have left behind. Few cities contain a greater number of public edifices erected by the munificence of private individuals. They meet the stranger at every turn. The hospital of the Pammatone, the *Albergo dei Poveri*, the *Ponte Sauli*, the *Biblioteca Civica*, each in its way conveys to the visitor some idea of the truly royal munificence of the merchant-princes of the old republic. But this spirit is seen in the churches more than in all the rest beside. A great proportion of them were built or restored by private individuals, or by public bodies. The Church of *S. Maria di Castello*, built by the noble family whose name it bears, dates from the first introduction of Christianity into the city. The magnificent church of the *Nunziata* was erected by the *Lomellini*. *San Matteo* was entirely restored by the *Dorias*, and the sword presented to the famous *Andrea Doria* by *Paul III* is still preserved in its treasury. The gorgeous, though unfinished fabric of the *Carignano* was the work of the *Sauli* in 1552. *San Pietro* is a monument of the public gratitude of the city, for its deliverance from the plague of 1579. *San Francesco Xaverio* was built by the *Balbi* in 1600; and, still more recently, *S. Maria del Rimedio* was founded in 1650, at the expense of a private individual, *Gian Tommaso Invrea*. These and many similar monuments, all lying within the compass of a morning stroll, make one feel the connexion between the Genoa of to-day and that olden city which filled Europe with the fame of her enterprise and her riches. Like Venice, Genoa is truly a city of palaces. But they are not, like those of Venice, palaces of the past. They possess all the majesty and grandeur of Venice, without its melancholy desolation and decay; and if there be some of them which the political revolutions of latter times have transferred to strange hands, a great proportion of them are still tenanted by the families of those to whom they owe their origin.

But the reader will have already perceived that we mean to confine his attention to a single branch of this interesting subject. The object which we proposed to ourselves in the pages which we devoted to the public charities of Rome, obliged us to enumerate all, or nearly all the institutions. We do not think it necessary to follow the same plan in the

present article. Seeking rather to display the spirit by which the truly Catholic charity of Genoa is animated, than to exhibit the full detail of good which it is enabled to effect, we shall be content to select a few of the principal among them.* And, indeed (so much is this interesting point in the religious character of Italy overlooked or concealed), that we fear there are many to whom even a cursory sketch will possess but too much novelty; for although some of the Genoese institutions, even considered as works of art, are so splendid that the merest sight-seer cannot pass them by, yet it is impossible to form any just estimate of them from the books of our English guides and tourists: if they advert to them at all, it is merely with the eye of an artist or a connoisseur;—to criticise Piola's colouring, or the expression of the bas-relief of Michael Angelo. Madame Starke devotes but one or two sentences to the Pammatone and the Albergo dei Poveri. Mr. Faber, who wrote last year, and from whom we might naturally expect the contrary, in his notice of Genoa, which is otherwise very interesting, has overlooked them altogether; and even Eustace, though he extols the splendour of the ancient establishments, "observes with regret that he is speaking of past, not present times. The edifices to which the names of hospitals are annexed, still stand, but stand rather as the monuments, than the actual mansions of charity: the funds have been swallowed up in the exactions of the French armies, and the mere titles remain, like the name of the republic, and even like the city itself, deprived of its commerce, its riches, and its independence."†

Of the works which stand at the head of this article, the first and second are the ordinary guide-books which are put into the hands of every stranger who visits Genoa,—the one in Italian, the other in French. Neither can be said to possess any literary merit; but the Italian, though not so prolix as the French, is more satisfactory and practically useful. The third, though resembling the others in title, promises to be a work of a very different order. As yet only the first number has appeared; but, from the manner in which it is executed,

* For example, we shall not advert at all to the subject of confraternities, which have been already described with some detail in a former article. It may be well also to observe, that at Genoa the variety of separate institutions is not so great as in Rome,—the same establishment frequently combining three or four different characters, as an asylum, a conservatory, an hospital, and an orphanage.

+ Classical Tour iii, p. 480-1.

it is easy to infer that, when completed, the work will deserve a place among the most interesting local histories and guides of the Italian cities. The present *fascicolo* is entirely devoted to the Albergo dei Poveri, and enters with great minuteness into the history of its foundation, progress, and completion. We cannot do better than commence with a brief notice of this noble institution. In order to give some idea of the author's manner, we shall dwell more upon it than on the other institutions.

The Albergo dei Poveri, though in its present form and locality rather modern, may yet be considered among the most ancient charities of the city. From the earliest times there are traces of similar establishments, although far less extensive, and differing from the Albergo in being intended merely as asylums for the aged and infirm. But in the year 1515, we find a decree of the senate increasing the revenues, and augmenting the number to whom relief was to be extended; and towards the middle of that century, a change of considerable importance was introduced. The year 1539 was a year of extraordinary scarcity throughout the entire of southern Europe; and in Genoa, the poverty and distress, which before had been left to the undirected charity of the humane, became so extreme as to call for the direct interference of the state. An association of the most distinguished nobles of the city, eight in number, was formed towards the close of that year, and in 1540 was sanctioned by a decree of the senate, and incorporated under the title of *Offizio dei Poveri*. A new Lazzaretto was built under their direction; but in progress of time, partly from public grants, partly from the charity of private individuals, the resources of the institution outgrew the place which had been selected as its site; and in 1652 the senate approved of a new purchase upon the hill Carbonara, better suited, by its locality and its extent, to the necessities of the establishment. The great mover of this pious and charitable project was the celebrated Emmanuel Spinola, and to his unwearied exertions Genoa owes this monument of national benevolence,—among the most splendid in Europe.

The difficulties attending the purchase of the site delayed the commencement of the work till 1556, in which year the first stone of the edifice was laid. But, while the foundations were still in great part open, it underwent a melancholy interruption in the following year, by the outbreak of the great plague. The mortality in Genoa was very great. While it

was at its height, seven hundred victims were daily carried off; and, the ordinary places of burial being soon completely filled, it became necessary to provide new space for this melancholy want. By a singular destiny, the deep and capacious pits which had been sunk to receive the foundations of the Albergo, were employed, by anticipation, in a more melancholy work of mercy, and under the direction of the devoted Spinola, whom no danger could dismay, no less than ten thousand corpses were interred under the foundations.

In gratitude for their deliverance from the awful visitation, the citizens, in the following year, decreed to erect a church under the title of the Immaculate Conception of our Blessed Lady, which had been vowed while the pestilence was at its height. According to the original plan, it was intended that the church should be erected in the centre of the Albergo; and, in order to combine the works of religion and charity, it was now resolved that the new church should form part of the building already commenced, and be devoted to the religious uses of the asylum. The doge, attended by all the state functionaries, went in solemn procession to lay the foundation. Thirty thousand livres were voted as a public grant for the purpose, and Emmanuel Spinola set the example of private contribution with such effect, that this portion of the work proceeded rapidly and successfully. However, in 1661 the funds began to fail. As the condition of his new contribution, Spinola, with that large and undistinguishing benevolence which was his great characteristic, required that the institution should be open to all applicants, without restriction of country or creed, even to those who had been refused admission at the other hospitals of the city. In 1664 they had advanced so far as to be able to receive the poor who before had been lodged in the Lazzaretto of the Carignano, which was thenceforth merged in the new establishment. In the following year the south line of the building was finished; and in 1665 the beautiful church, being at last completed, was erected into a parish, which continues under separate jurisdiction to this day.

From this time the building has been gradually enlarged, till at length, in 1740, the original plan was completed (with the exception of a portion of the front), in the gigantic proportions which it now presents. To the zeal and perseverance of the inimitable Brignole, whom no labour could dishearten, and no difficulty dismay, the city is mainly indebted for the success of the work. He lived but for works of charity and

love. The intimate friend of St. Vincent of Paul, he drew, it is natural to believe, many of his projects for the improvement of the condition of the poor from his saintly counsel, and the pious exercises of the community are still regulated according to a rule prescribed by the saint. The following notice of Brignole's manner of life will show that his munificence towards the poor was accompanied by the practice, in his own person, of the most rigid self-denial.

"At the age of about twenty-three, having lost his beloved father, he remained under the care of his guardians. On the expiration of his minority he received a portion of his paternal inheritance, which he was unwilling to keep unproductive, and embarked in a banking speculation. In 1646 he sold to his brother, Giovanni Carlo, the third part of his property which he inherited from his father in Sestri; and having entirely separated his interests from those of his brothers, he lived along with them and his mother until 1660, assigning a fitting proportion to her and to his sisters for their maintenance and dowry. He himself living in this manner, with a single servant, was enabled to add to his property the annual profits, as well of the revenues of his paternal inheritance, as of those which he derived from commerce. This he soon very much extended, engaging also in maritime speculations; and all his enterprises were very prosperous, either because he at the same time employed his gains in providing for the wants of the poor, or because he intended to devote his property to the erection of an asylum for them. An enemy to all ostentation and voluptuous ease, he laboured to prepare himself by his merits for the most useful service of his country. His fellow citizens very soon availed themselves of his great talents, and deputed him first to the care of the poor in the Lazaretto, whom, though at a great distance from the city, he visited with the most indefatigable zeal. The esteem in which he was held may be easily inferred from the measures taken in 1653, in which year he was charged, as we have seen, with the purchase of a site for the erection of a new asylum. He was at the same time one of the protectors of the poor girls of our Lady of Refuge on Mount Calvary, who were then divided into several houses, but afterwards united by the foundress into one establishment. His love towards the poor was universally known; and when a disastrous season or year of famine occurred, he was sent along the coasts to distribute relief, at the public expense, in order that the inhabitants might not perish by famine; and he himself was wont, by collections among his relatives and friends, to add to the public grant designed for this purpose by the 'Magistrato di Misericordia;' and it frequently happened that, there not being sufficient for the necessities of the poor, he added almost as much more from his private property."—*Bancheri*, pp. 14, 15.

This admirable man had not the happiness, however, of living to see the completion of the great work to which his life was devoted. He died, universally lamented, in 1678, in the seventieth year of his age; and his last will, which he had prepared many years before, is, like every other act of his life, a monument of true Christian charity and benevolence. He bequeathed the large proportion of his ample fortune to his beloved poor, and, with that humility which characterized his life, prohibited, under pain of forfeiting the inheritance, the erection of a monument to his memory, or any similar attempt to perpetuate his name. There is one clause of this interesting document too noble to be passed over in silence:—"He wills that his body be interred in the parochial church of the new Albergo dei Poveri, on the Carbonara, near the high altar, at that spot by which the poor are wont to go down into the hall to their devotion, in order that his dead body may ever lie under the feet of the poor, whom he dearly loved during life. He orders that his funeral be performed with humility, and in the following manner: his body shall be clad in the habit of the poor,—that is, in the dress of a labourer, and accompanied to the tomb by the reverend parish-priest and chaplains of the Albergo, by a like number of the religious of the parish, each with a lighted torch, and by the young and old inmates of the house with lighted candles in their hands."

It would be tedious to enumerate the names of those whose charity followed up to its completion the pious work which this admirable man had begun,* many of whom seemed to be actuated by the same humble spirit which animated Brignole. Several of the contributions and bequests were anonymous. A single individual, through the hands of Brignole, made a donation of 100,000 livres.

The funds of the institution, like those of every other pious work in Italy, suffered severely by the revolution. Though nominally protected by two imperial edicts in 1807 and 1809, the establishment was reduced to great straits; but after the restoration its independence was restored, and it has since continued in a flourishing condition.

The site of the Albergo is extremely picturesque. We shall transcribe the description copied from Bertolotti:—

* A descendant of the illustrious founder completed the work within the few last years, by the erection of the western tower, which had remained unfinished since 1740.

"The precipitous mountains on which a great part of Genoa is situated are in many places intersected by deep valleys. In one of these valleys, at the place called Carbonara, outside of the old circle, rises the great monument of Genoese charity. A long piazza, shaded by leafy trees, and lined with stone benches, stands in front of the Albergo dei Poveri. Several villas crown the surrounding eminences in which it is embosomed. The two rivers of the valley are employed to irrigate the gardens and pleasure grounds. Unlike the other parts of Genoa, in which the gay and smiling generally predominate, every thing here leads the mind to solemn recollection, although not unaccompanied with sober joy. The loftiness, extent, and magnificence, of the Albergo dei Poveri astonish the observer, and the noble *tout ensemble* of the edifice makes him overlook, or pardon, a certain false taste in the ornaments of the façade, the base of which is of the Tuscan order, while the Corinthian upper story and pyramidal pediment give a mixed and broken character to the front."—*Bancheri*, p. 17.

But the very circumstances which contribute so much to the picturesque beauty of the locality, rendered the erection of an edifice so stupendous a matter of great labour and difficulty. The physical obstacles which they had to overcome are enumerated in a very elegant inscription placed above the principal entrance:—

" AVSPICE DEO,
CIVVM PROVIDENTIA
ET LIBERALITATE
MONTES DEIECTI, VALLIS COAEQVATA,
FLVENTVM CONCAMERATVM
ALVEVS DERIVATVS
EGENIS
COGENDIS, ALENDIS,
OPIFICIO PIETATE INSTITVENDIS,
AEDES EXTRVCTAE
ANNO SALVTIS MDCLV."

The external appearance of the building is magnificent and imposing in the extreme:—

"It presents the form of a rectangular parallelogram, occupying an area of nineteen thousand six hundred metres, and including four large piazzas designed for the recreation of the poor. There are five upper stories with spacious courts, vast dormitories, work-rooms, and every thing that is necessary for the community, which has not unfrequently exceeded the number of eighteen hundred individuals. It would be very desirable that the donations of the citizens could raise a sum sufficient to enable them to level the

mountain upon the western side, and thus obviate the damage which the building sustains from the violent rains and secure the salubrity indispensable for such establishments. By a most commodious platform you pass to a terrace which leads into a vast portico; and thence, by two superb staircases, you ascend to the majestic vestibule of the edifice. Upon the stairs, as well as in the corridors above and the gallery of the church, are seen inscriptions under the busts and statues of marble or plaster, which attest the piety and charity of our ancestors.—*Bancheri*, p. 18.

As these inscriptions have been characterized as “pompous and uniform,”* we are induced to say a word upon the subject. Ordinarily speaking, indeed, it is one of little interest. But those of our countrymen who have visited Italy cannot fail to have been painfully struck by the contrast between the public inscriptions of the two countries:—here, tawdry, fulsome, in bad taste, seldom venturing beyond the humble vernacular, and if in a classic language, cold, stiff, formal, and unnatural; there, chaste, easy, elegant, and of a Latinity that might put our universities to the blush. The lapidary styles of England and Italy might, in some points, be taken as not inapt representations of the national characters of the two people. However, our business is not with the *form* of the inscriptions in the hall of the Albergo; but they breathe a spirit which to us appears extremely beautiful and simple, as well as touching in the highest degree. No empty enumeration of the styles and titles of the benefactor; all is devoted, with the utmost simplicity, to the history of his charity. A favourite idea, which struck us forcibly as running through them all, is Job’s holy boast, that he was the “*father of the poor*.” One man, dividing his inheritance, makes the poor co-heirs with his children;† another consoles himself for the failure of male issue in the idea that it is happier to be the father of the poor than the founder of a nume-

* Forsyth’s Italy, p. 6.

+ HIERONYMVS DE GRIMALDIS
PECVLIVM DITISSIMVM FILIIS CVM PAVPERIBVS
INDIVISE RELINQVENS,
HEREDES VOCAVIT AETERNOS
TER HILARIS DATOR
PLENA MANV ARGENTEVS 60,000
EROGABAT.
CVIVS BENEFICENCIAE AETERNVM DVRATVRAE
COMMENDATORES PAVPERES OMNES
SEMPER HABEBIT.

rous race;* a third voluntarily observed a life of celibacy, that he might possess in the poor a more numerous progeny.† There is in all, too, a beautiful facility of adopting the phraseology of Scripture, which is extremely charming. The “treasures in heaven,” the “hundred-fold reward,” the “hidden treasures,” are introduced with the happiest effect. Everywhere you meet most appropriate mottoes from the sacred page: “*Pater eram pauperum;*” “*Videant pauperes et latentur;*” “*Dispersit, dedit pauperibus;*” “*Neque dicas, non est Providentia.*” Nor is that retribution in prayer for the living, and suffrage for the dead, forgotten, which Catholic piety teaches us to expect from the poor whose wants we relieve. May not the Christian simplicity with which the

* JACOBO PHILIPPO DVRATIO
DIVITIARVM, AEQVE AC VIRTVTVM PATRITIO OPVLENTISSIMO
QVOD MVLTVM HVIC DOMVI AERE PROLEGATO
CENTVM INSVPER, ET QVINQVAGINTA MILLIVM ARGENTEOIVM
INDEFICIENTEM THESAIVRV
DEFICIENTE MASCVLA STIRPE CONTVLERIT
FELIX VT ESSET PAVPERVM PATER
SI DESINERIT ESSE NEPOTVM AVVS.

† SALVATORIS MASSOLO
QVOD ADHVC CHARITATEM SPIRAT
EXSANGVE HOC SIMVLACRV
SALVATORIS MASSOLAE PIETATEM REFERT
NON SVSCEPTIS SANGVINE LIBERIS
VT INNVPTVS
PLVRES SIBI FACERET CHARITATE
PAVPERES ADSCIVIT IN FILIOS
IN TANTAE VIRTVTIS ET CHRISTIANAE LIBERALITATIS
MONIMENTVM
ILLVSTRISSIMI MAGISTRATVS DIPLOMATE
MARMOR HOC PAVPERVM VOTIS EXPOLITVM
P.P.F.
MD.CCXX.

The following is a curious specimen of the particular taste of a play upon words which we sometimes see in epitaphs or other inscriptions. It is under the statue of Marco *Luciano*, and has for its motto, “*Abcondita in lucem produxit.*”

LVCIANVS CENTVRIONVS Q. AGAFITI
PATRITIE NOBILITATIS SPLENDORI
SPLENDOREM ACCRESCENS
QVOD LVCEBAT IN NOMINE EXPRESSIT IN OPERE
ABCONDITAS DIVITIAS IN LVCEM PRODVCENS
MAGISTRATVM PAVPERVM—AEREDEM SELIGENS
TANTA LVX NE SVB MODIO OBLIVIONIS PONATVR
SIMVLACRO ERECTO CAVTVM EST.
ANNO 1687.

inscription transcribed below* as it were enforces this spiritual contract, put to shame the fulsome stuff in which most of our monumental panegyrics tell of the charities of the deceased,—dwelling upon the past alone, without one thought for the future, and almost forcing upon the mind the startling fear, "*Amen dico vobis, receperunt mercedem suam?*"

The church of the Albergo dei Poveri is very beautiful, and arranged with great judgment and consideration for the convenience of the inmates. To secure the separation of the sexes—a principle rigidly maintained—and to prevent the possibility of all communication with externs, the church occupies the centre of the building, which is in the shape of a Latin cross; and thus forms the meeting-point of four extensive halls, from each of which the altar, sanctuary, and pulpit are distinctly visible, while, by means of open latices, as well as of the elevation of the church above the level of the halls, it is rendered impossible for the occupants of either hall to see those who are in the remaining three. The hall to the left of the altar is assigned to the females; that upon the right, to the males; the rear is set apart for the old and infirm, while the front is open to the public at large. In these halls the inmates are assembled for morning and evening prayer, for the adorable sacrifice, and for the other stated devotions of the day, as well as the duty of catechetical instruction. The prayer, which they recite in common, is that composed by St. Vincent of Paul; and we cannot conceive a scene more affecting than the evening service of this destitute, but not forgotten flock,—at which we once had the happiness to assist. Puget's exquisite figure of the Madonna of the Immaculate Conception, which surmounts the altar, appeared almost preternaturally beautiful. The mellow light of the hour softened all its outlines. It seemed as if it were the protecting angel of the little family. The alternate recitation of the verses and responses from the opposite halls, in which every variety and pitch of voice—young and old, boy and girl—was brought into contrast, and all blended into harmony; the occasional outburst of common prayer, in which every voice united in the recitation; and, above all, the sweet and touching nature of the

* IL SIGNOR EMMANUELE BRIGNOLE DI PIA MEMORIA COMMANDA NEL SUO TESTAMENTO RICEVUTO DAL NOTARO GIO: BATTA CAMERRE L'ANNO 1677 CHE IN SVFRAGIO DELL' ANIMA SUA SI FACCIANO IN QUEST' ALBERGO LE SEQUENTI PREGHIERE: CHE OGNI ANNO SI CANTI UNA MESSA SOLENNE NEL GIORNO CHE MORI E DA' POVERI IN QUEL GIORNO SI PREGHI PER LUI, CHE OGNI PRIMA DOMENICA DEL MESE SI RECITINO AVANTI LE LITANIE DELLA SANTISSIMA VERGINE VNE SALVE ET IL DEPROVNDIS.

prayers themselves,—which, while they breathe all the fervid and sublime devotion of their sainted author, are admirably adapted for the young and unlettered minds for which he designed them;—all combined to produce upon our mind an impression which we never can forget. It spoke to us of the great triumph of the Gospel, of that true Christian benevolence which unites religion with charity, which recollects that man's nobler nature should ever be the first object of Christian solicitude, and that it is but a low-minded and ignoble charity (if indeed it deserve the name), which contents itself with consulting for the physical wants of those whom it undertakes to cherish and protect.*

It remains to speak of the internal arrangement and administration of the institution. It is capable of accommodating above two thousand persons, and the actual number of inmates amounts to eighteen hundred. Like the Ospizio of San Michele in Rome, it is open for the relief of almost every variety of distress; the poor, the aged, the orphan, the foundling, the disabled, find admission within its ample halls; and it is even employed, in certain cases, as a house of correction for delinquents of a particular class. Nor are its benefits confined to those who live within its walls. In virtue of a number of charitable bequests, the administration is charged with the distribution of gratuities in bread, broth, clothes, bedding, and money, to extern paupers who present themselves for relief; and, by other similar bequests, provision is made for bestowing dowries upon virtuous and deserving young females, trifling, perhaps, in our eyes, but sufficiently considerable when we regard the simple habits and limited wants of the humble classes in Italy, for whom they are intended. The pleasing task of dispensing the alms thus allocated was sometimes reserved to the family of the donor. "The noble family of Kugara," says Eustace, "were accustomed to lay out, each day, a sum equivalent to thirty-two pounds English in providing food for all the poor who came to claim it. Another nobleman, having no heirs, devoted his whole property, even during his own life, to the foundation of an asylum for orphan girls, who, to the number of five

* We need hardly direct the attention of those among our readers who may chance to visit Genoa, to the exquisite bas-relief, by Michael Angelo, of our Lady imprinting a kiss upon the forehead of the dead Christ. To those who have seen, or are about to see, his *Madonna della Pietà* in St. Peter's, it possesses very great interest.

hundred, were educated, and provided with a settlement for life, either married or single, at their option.*

The right of admitting to the institution is vested in the administration, and, like all their other executive powers, is exercised by the majority of voices. In conformity with the will of the founder, no distinction of country or religion should be made; but it has been found necessary, since the revolution, to confine the privilege of admission to natives, or, at least, residents of Genoa. The infirm are admitted at every age; boys, from three to fourteen; females to a still more advanced age, as long, indeed, as their poverty may be supposed to expose them to danger; and the old of both sexes, from sixty upwards. These are the classes to whom it is principally sought to administer relief. The able-bodied, except in particular cases, are regarded as inadmissible. Those who enter at an age sufficiently early, are instructed in whatever trade they may themselves prefer; and when the ordinary time for their removal comes (their education being completed), the well-conducted and meritorious are allowed the option of remaining in the asylum or going into the world. The females, in case of their marrying, or entering a religious state as lay-sisters, are entitled to a dowry of two hundred livres, and in some cases a larger sum.

The manufactures of the institution are well worthy of attention, especially those of silk, calico, woollen cloth, and carpets. A capital of two hundred thousand livres is employed by the institution in these manufactures; and the profits, except a certain portion which goes to the support of the institution, are divided among the inmates, according to their proportion of labour. There is an annual exhibition of the manufactures, and prizes are distributed to the most successful in each department.

The boy-schools of the establishment are entrusted to the Brothers of the Christian doctrine, those of the females, to the "Sisters of our Lord on Mount Calvary," commonly called Brignoline,—an association resembling our Sisters of Mercy, except that their vow is not perpetual. The neatness, order, and decorum of the entire are beyond all praise; and the internal arrangements, without exception, are truly worthy of the charity and good taste of Genoa.

"The windows are large and airy, the floors are all of marble, as are also the numbers inscribed over the head of each bed, and

* Eustace, *Classical Tour*, iii. p. 480.

the slabs which are fixed in the wall, to hold whatever is necessary for the use of the patient: and to preserve them from the cold of the marble when they have occasion to get out of bed, the space between the beds is covered with little carpets. The beds are of iron, painted green, and I might almost call them elegant, being closed in with hangings of white and azure stuff. The infirmarians, both male and female, are numerous. There is an altar for the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice, at which the men and women have an opportunity of assisting. The care of the sick is entrusted to the pious 'Sisters of Our Lady of Refuge on Mount Calvary.' The different quarters of the poor are furnished in the same manner, with the exception of the curtains and mattress which are provided only for the sick. These things remind one of the Ospizio of the *Fate bene fratelli*, in Milan, another city proudly distinguished by its numerous asylums of charity and beneficence. It must be observed that the sick are ordinarily sent to the hospital; and that it is only by special exception that individual cases are permitted to remain in the infirmary; either those slightly attacked, or those who are suffering from chronic maladies, and cannot find ready admittance to the Hospital of the Incurables, and, in the judgment of the Rectors of the house, deserve special attention, or those who, being seized with sudden illness, could not be removed to the hospital without danger. The internal government of the females, which has been entrusted since the establishment of the institution to the 'Sisters of Our Lady of the Refuge on Mount Calvary,' commonly called Brignoline, (because they were, in a certain sense, founded by our Emmanuel,) cannot be sufficiently commended. They carry with them the piety of almost two centuries. An ecclesiastical prefect and a secular, with several assistants, watch over the good conduct of the men. A parish priest superintends the spiritualities and the church, and is assisted by four chaplains and confessors. All these are dependant on the rector, who is subject to the managers of the establishment."—*Bancheri*, pp. 13, 14.

To those who have read of the charitable institutions of Rome, the name "Conservatorio" cannot be unfamiliar. Like Rome, Genoa is amply provided with these blessed retreats, in which the young female is protected at that age when the worst dangers beset her upon every side, rendered doubly formidable by the poverty and destitution from which it is the object of the Conservatorio to rescue her. The Conservatorio delle Fieschine takes its name from Dominico Fieschi, a Genoese noble, by whom it was founded in 1763. It is a magnificent building, which, from its commanding position, cannot fail to attract the notice of every visitor. In form it is an oblong square, five hundred feet in the length of the greater side. It is capable of accommodating six hundred

persons. Unlike many similar institutions in other countries, this admirable establishment continues its protecting care long beyond the time when it is absolutely necessary for the physical wants of the inmates. The piety of Genoa would revolt at the idea of casting them out upon the world the moment they are supposed capable of providing a maintenance for themselves; and they have the option of remaining in the Conservatorio until a suitable marriage, or, if they should feel disposed for the religious state, the adoption of the religious habit, places them beyond the reach of danger or distress: in either case they receive a dowry of five hundred livres. The inmates, besides an excellent religious education, are trained in embroidery, needle-work, and the other branches of female industry. There is one in which, as our lady readers are well aware, they particularly excel, the manufacture of artificial flowers. The flowers of the Fieschine of Genoa are celebrated throughout Europe for their delicacy, elegance, and natural simplicity. The profits of their labour are divided into two parts, one of which goes to the support of the establishment, the other is placed at their own disposal.

The Fieschine may be taken as a specimen of the Conservatorio of Genoa, which in every respect resemble those of Rome, described in a former article. But there are several others. The Madonna del Rifugio was founded in 1641. It owes its origin to the piety of a noble Genoese lady, a member of the Centurioni family, though better known by the name of that into which she married, the Grimaldi Bracelli. The object and plan of this asylum are very similar to those of the Fieschine, and it is capable of accommodating three hundred inmates, whose wants are all amply supplied while they remain in the institution, with the same charitable and judicious provision in case of their marrying or entering a religious life. There is another Conservatorio attached to the hospital of the Pammatone. But we must refer to the author for a detailed description.

It hardly comes within our present plan to speak of the schools and educational institutions of Genoa; but there is one to which we must briefly advert. It is true there can be but little novelty in the description of a deaf and dumb institution; but while we are upon the subject of the charities of Genoa, it would be injustice to the memory of the admirable man to whom we owe the deaf and dumb school of the city, to pass it over in silence. The name of this meritorious individual was Ottavio Giambattista Assarotti. Like the immortal

Abbé Sicard, he was an humble ecclesiastic; and his zeal appears to have been stimulated by reading of Sicard's labours and success. His first essay was made in 1801, and was entirely unaided, except, perhaps, by the contributions of a few charitable friends; but the success which attended his disinterested efforts induced the government, in 1805, to assign to him a house, with funds for the maintenance of twelve children. Owing, however, to the unsettled condition of politics at that period, it was some time before this disposition took effect, and he continued to struggle on with the limited means which he was himself enabled to command. In 1812 the noble house which they now inhabit, beyond the *Acqua Sola*, formerly the Convent of Mercy, was assigned to them, and has since been much improved and adapted to the necessities of its new occupants. After the restoration, the establishment was taken into the royal protection, and placed under the management of a commission, of which the cardinal archbishop for the time being is the head. Since 1824 the utility of the institution has been much increased, by the formation of a school for extern pupils. The inmates are at present about sixty in number, of whom thirty-seven are boys. Of these, eighteen are supported by the king, two by the civic body, and the rest by the charity of private individuals. The extern pupils are nearly as numerous, though their number is more variable. The age for admission is from ten to sixteen, and the time spent in the establishment is ordinarily five years. The course of instruction is judiciously accommodated to the disposition of the pupil; and, when promising subjects are found, is often very extensive. Many of these interesting children are intimately acquainted with the Italian, French, English, Spanish, and German languages, and are able not only to read, but even to write in them with ease and correctness. The boys who are found deficient in literary talent are instructed in those arts or trades for which they may manifest a disposition. Painters, engravers in wood and copper, scriveners, and draughtsmen of very considerable merit, have had their education in this admirable institution. Four of the principal engineers and designers in the employment of the government were among the pupils of the pious *Assarotti*. Each of the trades, too, has its representative among them; as printers, bookbinders, shoemakers, carpenters, tailors; and the females are instructed in needle-work, embroidery, and the manufacture of artificial flowers, in which Genoa is so distinguished.

In 1827 the institution sustained a severe loss in the universally-lamented death of its benevolent founder. The present superior, the Abbate Boselli, had long been his intimate friend and assistant; and in naming him to succeed the Abbate Assarotti, the king, in testimony of approval of his past services, conferred upon him the honourable distinction of the order of SS. Maurice and Lazarus. The administrative staff consists of the director, four priests, who direct the religious instruction and watch over the morals of the pupils, four mistresses for the female pupils, and six servants. The prefects of the several subordinate departments are selected from among the deaf and dumb children formerly trained in the establishment.

The system of charitable loans, known by the name of Monte de Pietà, was early established at Genoa. It would seem that the most ancient Monte de Pietà was that founded at Perugia towards the commencement of the fifteenth century. We find the system introduced, with the papal sanction, at Orvieto in 1464, and at Viterbo in 1471. The Genoese government was not slow to follow the pious example. In 1483 a decree was passed by the senate, placing the bank under the direction of a public officer, and drawing up such regulations for its management as would enable the poor to derive the greatest amount of benefit from the allocation of the funds at its disposal. Much of its early prosperity is due to the zeal of an humble Franciscan, Francesco Angelo da Cranerio. By his pious and eloquent exhortations, numbers of his wealthy fellow-citizens were induced to offer their redundant wealth,—some gratuitously, some at the lowest rate of interest,—to form a capital for circulation among the poor. Numberless bequests and donations were added to the fund, and in progress of time the bank had a capital of six hundred and seventy thousand livres, and was able to circulate above a million. But, unhappily, the rapacious and turbulent spirit of the French party in Italy proved as fatal to the Monte de Pietà at Genoa as to the other pious establishments of every country to which their arms extended. In 1806 they were obliged to suspend their business; nor was the bank reopened till 1810. It has since slowly recovered from its embarrassments, and, at this moment, is again in full activity; and the amount of good effected by it can only be estimated by those who, familiar with the habits of the Italian people, are able to understand the nature of their wants, and the severe privations to which the temporary withdrawal

of their humble and precarious means of subsistence must subject them.

It remains to close this notice, already extended beyond the brief limits we originally proposed, with a short account of the principal hospitals of the city. The most ancient hospital of Genoa is the *Spedale del Pammatone*, an establishment which, in its magnificence and utility, may take a place among the noblest institutions of Europe. Like most of the other charities of Genoa, it owes its origin to the benevolence of an individual. A celebrated lawyer, Bartolomeo Bosco, erected it at his own expense in 1420, and in 1427 bequeathed his entire property for its maintenance, confiding the administration to the pious care of his wife, the partner, or rival, of all his projects of charity. It was originally designed for females alone: but in 1441 the addition of a large pile of building enabled the directors to extend its advantages to males also; and, after some time, the government undertook the principal burden of its maintenance, till, by successive additions, the building gradually extended to its present colossal proportions,—the admiration, not only of Italy, but of Europe. It is a rectangular building, about three hundred and thirty feet in length, by two hundred in breadth; but the length of the wing which looks towards the north is considerably greater, this wing having been prolonged to the west, for the purpose of affording accommodation for an hospital of convalescents. The principal gate leads into a magnificent hall, sixty feet in length, on either side of which are the medical and surgical laboratories of the establishment. From this hall the visitor, by a majestic staircase of white marble, ascends to a spacious court, surrounded by twenty doric columns; on the left of this beautiful square are the anatomical hall, the school of anatomy, and the fever ward, with a distinct hall for those cases which require peculiar and separate treatment; and on the right is the surgical ward, with the school of the surgical lectures. But it is only in the portion of the building assigned to the female patients one can form an idea of its extent and magnificence. It occupies the entire second floor of the hospital, extending around the four sides of the rectangle. The floors are of marble, the white coverlet and hangings of the beds present a very pleasing appearance; and the perfect neatness, order, and indeed elegance, of the arrangements, completely divest the scene of the painful and oppressive character which we are apt to attribute

to such receptacles of human misery.* As in the Albergo, the walls are decorated with a profusion of statues, busts, and inscriptions, to the memory of the benefactors of the institution. Within fifty years from its foundation, its revenues, from private contributions only, had swelled to four hundred thousand livres.

From the dimensions given above, it may be inferred that the number of patients to whom relief is afforded must be immense. But the utility of the Pammatone does not end here. Its ample halls are open for the reception of foundlings of both sexes. The boys are maintained and educated till they grow up to maturity, and are capable of providing for themselves: and the females, till they choose to leave the establishment for the purpose of marrying, or entering a religious state. The number of orphans and foundlings is of course variable, but has frequently exceeded three thousand.†

Notwithstanding the vast extent of the Pammatone, which is open to all nations, without distinction, there is a class of patients whom, as in most similar institutions, it is found necessary to keep apart from the ordinary cases admitted into the hospital. Accordingly, in 1524, the Hospital of Incurables was founded by a nobleman named Hector Vernassa. Since that time many successive additions have been made to the building, which thus, from want of uniform plan, presents an irregular, though not unimposing appearance. The female hospital is a separate establishment, connected with the other by an arcade. The main building itself is very much broken up into separate wards; and indeed a casual visitor could form no idea of the enormous extent of the hospital, which only can be conceived after a careful and leisurely inspection. This immense institution, as well as the Pammatone, is under the care of religious sisters in every way resembling our Sisters of Charity and Mercy. The spiritual wants of the patients are tended by the good Capuchins of a neighbouring community; and a thousand little offices of charity and tenderness are discharged by the members of several religious con-

* The Magazzino, or store-house of the hospital, is well deserving of a visit. The tasteful arrangement of the linens, &c. upon the shelves which surround the apartment, produces a very singular but pleasing effect; and (*ex pede Herculem*) the scrupulous neatness of these minute particulars may serve as an evidence of the attention which is paid to the essential wants of the inmates.

† Starke's Italy, i. p. 170. In the Conservatorio attached to the establishment is a beautiful chapel, in which the body of St. Catherine Fieschi is preserved upon the precise spot in which she died in 1510.

fraternities in the city, which rival those of Rome in their devotedness and zeal.

It would carry us beyond the space at our disposal to particularize several other institutions, less splendid than those already specified, but each, in its own sphere, the centre of incalculable good, and all in themselves extremely interesting. "The hospitals of Genoa vie with its palaces in magnificence, and seem more than sufficient for all the disease and misery that could exist in so small a state."* But we cannot omit at least to mention the new Manicomio, or lunatic asylum, which has just been opened, and which may well challenge competition with even the most glorious charities of the olden city.

In concluding this brief notice of the principal charitable institutions of Genoa, there is one feature characterizing them all, to which we cannot help adverting,—the thoroughly religious character which they all present. It is impossible to enter a Genoese hospital or asylum without feeling at once that, if there be suffering there, it is not of that dark or gloomy cast which leads to despair. Wherever you turn, every object reminds you that the charity which here ministers to the wants of its fellow-creatures, is the true charity of the Gospel. Religion has everywhere set its stamp. No matter what may be the nature of the distress which seeks relief, or the sorrow which asks for consolation, every object speaks the consoling admonition which is inscribed upon the wall of the Albergo, "*Neque dicas non est Providentia.*" What a contrast between the purchased and perfunctory attendance of the nurses of an English hospital, or the hired menials of an English work-house, and the loving and gentle ministrations of a sister of mercy in the Pammatone, or a pious member of those confraternities which devote themselves to the care of the Albergo! It is not alone by the amount of physical comfort provided for the poor that the charity of the donor is to be estimated,—this would be a low and unworthy standard; it is by the spirit in which it is done, and the self-devotion which it bespeaks. And indeed there is everything in the arrangements of the Genoese institutions to prove that the adoption of the touching title of the "Father of the poor," in the inscriptions on the walls, is no idle boast. Enter one of those noble establishments. Everything which meets your eye reminds you that, amply as all the temporal wants of the inmates are tended and relieved, the more

* Forsyth, p. 7.

important concern of their eternal interest is still more anxiously watched over. The thousand little devices, simple, though solid, which Catholic piety has invented, to keep before our eyes the recollection of God's presence, and of our own immortal destinies, are here employed with the most consoling effect. The holy altar, distinctly visible from every bed, in every part of the hospital; the little image of our blessed Lord upon the cross, or of her whom from that cross He gave to be our Mother; the words of hope and consolation which are printed upon the walls, and meet the eye of the sufferer whithersoever he turns; still more the tender and unfailing attentions of the pious sisterhood, who watch every look, and hang upon every word of the patient that gives hope of conversion to God; are admirably calculated to soften the most obdurate heart, and draw it back to religion, however long and wayward its wanderings may have been.

We remember to have met, in one of our English tourists, a sneer at the pious attentions of the Italian clergy to the spiritual wants of the sick in the public hospitals. The writer was speaking of the hospitals of Genoa. His philosophical benevolence could not reconcile itself to this intrusion upon the quiet of the dying hour; and his sensitiveness was shocked to find "priests and choristers in the hospital of the incurables, chaunting between two rows of wretches, whom their pious noise would not suffer to die in peace."* We are sure there are few who will admire the tender-heartedness of this sentimental scoffer; and we are satisfied there are still fewer who will covet for their last hour the peace which is purchased at such a price. For our own part, we can never forget the impression which our first visit to an Italian hospital produced upon our mind. The calm and contented looks of the poor inmates told us that, whatever were their physical sufferings, at least there was peace within. Here and there, by the bed-side of the patients, were seated the Capuchin confessors of the establishment, whispering consolation and counsel into the ear of the dying man. Sisters of mercy, with noiseless step, were flitting from place to place, like angels of peace; now ministering to some of the sufferers, now stopping to address an enquiry or an exhortation as they passed along, followed by the grateful looks and thankful benedictions of those to whom they were thus devoting their lives. Members of the confraternities, in their peculiar habit,

* Forsyth, p. 6.

which effectually conceals the person, and levels all distinction of rank, were praying with those whose danger was most imminent, and where the stole (the sign of jurisdiction) placed upon the foot of the bed, indicated that extreme unction had been administered, there stood the chaplain, the sentinel of the Church in this last hour, — a post which he is bound by his office not to desert till the final struggle is over. The frescoes and paintings which decorated the walls were well calculated to assist and encourage the pious impressions thus produced. They held forth to those who were in grievous pain, holy Job upon his dunghill; to the desponding they pointed to our Lord healing the mother-in-law of Peter, or calling Lazarus from the dead; to the impenitent they denounced the terrors of God's judgment in another life; to the despairing they shewed Magdalen, or the woman taken in adultery; to all they told of the mystery of our Lord's love for us, and hushed every motion of doubt or despair, by the consoling example of the thief upon the cross, and the last words of our Lord for his enemies and persecutors.

We shall not stop to contrast this blessed scene with the picture which we might draw of one of our London hospitals, or compare this "pious noise" with the peace in which the unhappy sufferers are there "permitted to die." We are well assured there are few, even of those who differ from us in creed, that will hesitate as to the preference. Nor shall we place the tenderness and delicacy with which every want is there relieved, so as to divest poverty, as far as possible, of its humiliation, with the barbarous principle of English charity, recently introduced in our Irish poor-houses,—to give to the poor the least possible degree of relief, and throw every possible obstacle in the way of their receiving it. For ourselves, we frankly acknowledge that this solicitude for the spiritual welfare of the sick and the poor, this happy and judicious union of charity and religion, is in our eyes the great charm of the public institutions of Italy; and that it far outweighs the munificence (though this, too, is beyond all praise), which has always distinguished the nobles of this misrepresented country, "whose chief gratification has always consisted in amassing wealth, for the laudable purpose of expending it on public works and public charities."

* *Starke's Italy*, ii. p. 171.

ART. IV.—*Arundines Cami, sive Musarum Cantabrigiensium Lusur Canori.* Collegit atque edidit Henricus Drury, A.M. Cantabrigiæ: Typis Academicis excusus. M.DCCC.XLI.

THIS is an exquisite volume. We have read it over and over again, and still with increased pleasure. Every page is set with jewels of beauty—every leaf glitters with Heliconian dew. Here we have some lovely lyric, as sweetly breathed as if Apollo had dictated it; there, some gentle ballad of the olden time, the very name of which hurries us in fancy back to sylvan scenes and sunny landscapes. We renew our acquaintance with Prior, and Ben Jonson, and Suckling, and Shakspeare, and Herrick, and Gray, and Goldsmith, until we are surfeited with luxuries. Nor are we presented with the originals only of those charming writers; but with brilliant and elegant translations also into Greek and Latin, which stand by them, side by side, and reflect even new lustre upon their prototypes. Occasionally, too, we find some pretty vignette peeping through the crowd of songs, like rose-flowers through the foliage, and absolutely compelling us to linger over the pictured page; while, for readers of a stoical cast, who care little for engravings, we have the superior attraction of the names of Bishop Butler, and Porson, Wrangham and Drury, Merivale and Hodgson, whose poems greet us every moment, and gratify all tastes by their excellence and variety. In a word, we do not know a book in the world that better deserves the compliment with which good old Henry Stephens introduced the Teian Anacreon:—

“At tu quicumque es, natus meliore palato
Nectare et ambrosiâ qui satur esse cupis,
Qui veneres omnes, omnes gustare lepores
Graii delicias et cupis eloquii,
Qui vis Sirenas, Suadæque audire medullam
Huc ades, huc aures verte animumque tuum,
Namque his (Cecropio toto si lector Hymetto
Te satiare potes), te satiare potes.”

And if we were asked what pleasant work we should select as a companion for our rambles, by hill or dale, in the purple morning, or at golden eve, we should have but one name upon our lips, and that *Arundines Cami*—the pleasant reeds of Cam.

For modern Greek and Latin *original* composition we entertain but little respect. It has always appeared to us in no other light than as a cold and lifeless picture of the radiant

and beautiful antique, and calculated to display the writer's knowledge of the "*Gradus ad Parnassum*," and his skill in artfully appropriating from Horace and Virgil the "thoughts that breathe and words that burn," rather than evidencing the labours of his own intellect, or the wealth of his own genius. Those who have worked in this vocation, have done little more than express common-place sentiments in indifferent Latinity; never striving to achieve anything new or great; never penning even one grand line, which would live and immortalize the author; but always confining themselves to the same dull and hackneyed metaphors, summoning to their assistance fauns and naiads, when forests or waterfalls were to be described, and dignifying their agrestic landscapes with the usual number of laughing Pans and zoneless Graces. Gray, the most famous, perhaps, of our modern Latin writers, has nothing to recommend him but the singular elegance of his versification; Vincent Bourne, though he has many couplets which savour of the old and better time, is careless, unpoetical, and uncouth; Sir William Jones makes no pretensions to novelty, and his flowery lines shew that he did not appreciate, or could not follow, the chaste and simple splendours of the Augustan age. When we have named these, we believe we have selected the three stars in our Latin literature; and if we have rightly characterized them, the reader will see how difficult it is to attain excellence in this department of composition, when the ceaseless exertions of Bourne, the classic fancy of Gray, and the golden imagination of Jones, could achieve a renown which, when compared with that of the writers of even the middle ages, is all but secondary.

But, for translations of our modern songs into the Greek and Latin languages, when they are performed with elegance, or fidelity, or talent, we entertain some consideration. They evidence an intimate acquaintance with the tongues into which they are turned; they are the very best specimens of humorous poetical composition, in languages that possess but few—(for can anything be colder than the wit of Martial, or less laughable than the jollity of Aristophanes?) they make us peruse the English originals with more gratification; and they are, nearly in all cases, a species of literary curiosity. Why they should possess so singular a charm we cannot tell,—perhaps it is for the rhyme, perhaps for the eccentricity,—but we never met an accomplished classical scholar who did not enjoy their perusal even much more than the most finished longs and shorts of our greatest names. We have ourselves often got a song in Greek or Latin rhyme by

heart, and chanted it for hours, when we should never think of committing to memory the odes of Gray, or the pastorals of Jones; the monastic hymns of our Church, apart from their sacredness, have at times pleased us more than the most elegant *carmina* that Scaliger or Politian ever wrote; and there are moments when our eyes, glancing along our bookshelves, are irresistibly attracted by the roystering couplets of Walter de Mapes, when the lode-star stanzas of Beza, or Barberini, or Marullus, have vainly sought our notice. This taste of ours it is which makes us like the *Arundines Cami*.

This volume consists of two parts: the first glittering all over with fun;—humorous ballads, nursery rhymes, and laughing couplets, with their accompanying versions in Greek and Latin, being thickly interspersed with the ludicrous melodies of Rogers and Haynes Bayly; the second is of a more solemn cast, and consists principally of religious musings and beautiful Church hymns, right well rendered by the editor into the language of Catholic Rome. For the boisterous gaiety of the first the compiler apologizes (though we hardly think it was necessary to do so), and to the sacred character of the second he thus alludes in his graceful and modest preface:—"Utrum feliciter necne conati sumus monachorum hymnos rythmicos imitari, judicent alii; unum id in hoc loco jure lamentamur, quod ista species carminum, tam casta, tam pulchra, tam plena exercitationis idonea, cum in ludis publicis, tum apud academicos nostros, penitus omissa videatur. Quis autem ignorat quam egregia sit hodie ad versiones sacras opportunitas, seu quis illius *Lyræ Apostolicæ*, fila sollicitet, sive circa dædalos flores *Anni Christiani* fundantur vatum examina?" Of the truth of this there can be no doubt. The old Catholic hymns are among the most enchanting pieces of poetry ever devoted to religion; and the men of Cambridge, like those of Oxford, prove the excellence of their taste by appreciating these—the melodies of our Church. They have already got back to the *strains* of the Vatican,—we suppose we shall soon find them returning to the surplices and sacraments. And perhaps O'Connell is not very much mistaken in his prophecy after all, and we shall yet live to hear the storied aisles of Westminster Abbey resounding once again with the music of the Mass.

In our notice of the *Arundines* we shall introduce, incidentally, the labours of one or two other gentlemen in this species of composition, and show that our own Alma Mater—though, little to her credit, she has never sent forth a volume like the

present—numbers, nevertheless, among her *alumni* men who might combat, not unsuccessfully, with the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge. Of these the first was the late Dr. Maginn,—a man of great genius and learning. The next is Mr. Serjeant Murphy,—a gentleman of extensive classical attainments. The third, Mr. Edward Kenealy, who is also a member of the bar. From the Greek and Latin prolusions of these gentlemen, which have been given to the world, we shall select a few specimens, which, we think, do no dishonour to Trinity College, Dublin. If we were acquainted with any other Trinity men who have written in this style, we would gladly give extracts from their publications, but we believe these three comprise the entire number;—and a more melancholy proof of the indolence of our university it would be difficult to discover. We hope, however, for better things from her members before long. Have they no ambition? Has not our college been too long pointed at with scorn as the “silent sister”? We would overlook much of her bigotry, if we saw her shine brilliantly in literature.

Come we now to our extracts. The first we lay our hand upon is a polyglott production of Mr. W. J. D. None of his translations are quite perfect.

“THE OLD GENTLEMAN OF TOBAGO,

“There was an old man of Tobago,
Who lived on rice, gruel, and sago;
Till much to his bliss,
His physician said this—
‘To a leg, Sir, of mutton, you may go.’”

GAMMER GURTON.

“SENEX TOBAGENSIS.

“Jamdudum senior quidam de rure Tobagus,
Invito madidas carpserrat ore dapes,
Sed medicus tandem, non injucunda locutus,
‘Assæ,’ dixit, ‘oves sint tibi cæna senex.’”

“Γερων τις, οὐκ ὦν τοὺς Τοβαγίους μύχους,
ἰδιανοποιεῖ σαγινὴν θηρὸν τροφήν
τίλος δ’ ἰατρος εἶπε, χαρμονὴν ἐλθεῖν,
φάγοις ἂν ἤδη πρόβατον, ὃ μάκαρ γέρον.”

“J’ai entendu parler d’un vieillard de Tobag,
Qui ne mangea longtems que du ris et du sague :
Mais enfin le médecin lui dit ces mots :
‘Allez-vous-en, mon ami, au gigot.’”

“Un vecchio, che visse nel Tobago,
Da lungo tempo inghiottiva sago :
Ma enfin il medico disse un grato detto ;
‘Mangiar carne arrostita io vi permetto.’”

To translate “rice, gruel, and sago,” by such a phrase as “*madidas dapes*,” displays great poverty of language, and we

should like to know how many *oves* he was to eat for supper. *χαρμονην κλινειν* ("much to his bliss"), is as bad Greek as we remember ever to have seen. The French appears to us to be defective in its rhymes, as violating the principle of alternate masculine and feminine rhymes, *i. e.* ending with consonants and vowels. In Italian the proper word is *sagù*, and not *sago*; as also *enfin*, in the third line, is not Italian, but Spanish.*

Exquisitely rendered by Mr. Henry John Hodgson, are those lovely lines of Mrs. Norton—

THE BLIND MAN'S BRIDE.

When first beloved in vanished hours
The blind man sought thy hand to
gain,
They said thy cheek was bright as
flowers
New freshened by the summer's rain.
The beauty which made them rejoice
My darkened eyes might never see,
But well I knew thy gentle voice,
And that was all in all to me.

At length as years rolled swiftly on,
They talked to me of Time's decay,
Of roses from thy soft cheek gone,
Of ebon tresses turned to grey.
I heard them; but I heeded not;
The withering change I could not
see;
Thy voice still cheered my darkened
lot,
And that was all in all to me.

And still, beloved, till life grows cold,
We'll wander 'neath the genial sky,
And only know that we are old
By counting happy hours gone by.

CÆCUS AD UXOREM.

Tempore præterito cum te, dilecta pe-
tebam
Conjugio mecum jungere cæcus ego;
Ipsa (susurrabant) ibas pulcherrima
rerum
Floris prior verna qui recreatur aqua.
Quæ tam grata aliis, qui te videre, ve-
nustas
Fulserit—heu! oculis abditur illa
meis;
Sed blanda est auri tua vox bene cog-
nita nostræ:
Id fuit e votis omnibus omne mihi.
At quia labuntur reduces velociter anni,
Jam formæ memorant plurima damna
tuæ;
Quod nigri albescant rugosa in fronte
capilli
Quod rosa sit teneris deperitura
genis.
Inscius audiui; nec sunt mihi talia
cure;
Effugiant veneres, non ego testis ero;
Mulsit adhuc mea me vocis dulcedine
conjux;
Id fuit e votis omnibus omne mihi.

Sic, dilecta, una sub cælo errabimus
almo,
Dum brevis in nostro pectore vita
calet;
Et nisi felices quando numerabimus
horas,
Immemores erimus nos simul esse
senes.

* The editor sent this criticism to a literary friend, from whom he received an impromptu, which he ventures to insert, as he thinks some readers may prefer it to the version in the text:—

In Tobago vivea un vecchio strano
Che di riso e sagù era satollo;
"Puoi di castrato pur mangiar un brano"
Disse gli il medico, e rallerghollo.

Thy cheek may lose its blushing hue,
 Thy brow less beautiful may be,
 But oh the voice which first I knew,
 Still keeps the same sweet tone to
 me.

Quod si non vultu maneat color ille
 rosarum,
 Frons etiam uxori sit minus alba
 mee;
 Vox tua suaviloqua me cepit imagine
 primum;
 Vox tua dat liquidum, quod dedit
 ante, melos.

We think it would not be easy to find, in the entire collection, a match for this sweet and simple version. It realizes Coleridge's definition of good writing,—“the best words in the best places,” to the very letter. There is not a florid word or expression from beginning to end, but all flows on easy and beautiful, like one of Ovid's epistles. The third verse is perfect in its Latinity; and the whole composition adheres strictly to the original. Those who have read Charles Fox's Latin poems, will observe a strong likeness between the structure of his lines and those of Mr. Hodgson. We are sorry we cannot say anything in praise of his version of Goldsmith's “Mad Dog.” It is an indifferent composition; but is well atoned for by the following excellent translation:—

LOUISA.

Though by a sickly taste betrayed
 Some may dispraise the lowly maid,
 With fearless pride I say,
 That she is healthful, fleet, and strong,
 And down the rocks can leap along,
 Like rivulets in May.

And smiles has she to earth unknown,
 Smiles that with motion of their own
 Do spread and sink and rise;
 That come and go with endless play,
 And ever as they pass away
 Are hidden in her eyes.

She loves her fire, her cottage home,
 Yet o'er the moorland will she roam
 In weather rough and bleak;
 And when against the wind she strains,
 Oh might I kiss the mountain rains
 That sparkle on her cheek.

Take all that's mine beneath the moon
 If I with her but half a noon
 May sit beneath the walls

LOUISA.

Rusticam spernant alii puellam
Simplici myrto folia allaborent
 Suscipit gratum mea lingua munus
 Musa referre,
 Quam salus illam decoret vigorque;
 Quamque veloci pede per profunda
 Saxa decurrat redeunte sicut
Flumina Maio.

Ridet huic risus similis dearum
 Qui suas toto veneris in ore
 Prodit, alterno refluens fluensque
 Molliter æstu;
Pertinax circumvolitare lusu
 Sedulo frontem; aut roseum cubile
 Deserens vultus, oculi in protervis
 Ignibus abdi.

Parvulo contenta focum paternum
 Et lares parvos amat; at procellæ
 Immemor grata vice pervagatur
 Devia montis;
 Dumque ibi in ventos animosa certat,
 Imbrium gemmas utinam osculari,
 Qui genis in purpureis pudica
 Luce coruscant.

Deme quot rerum videt alta luna,
 Sit reclinato mihi cum puella
 Sole fervente aut veteris sub antri
 Rupe morari;

Of some old cave or mossy nook
 Whene'er she wanders up the brook
 To hunt the waterfalls.

WORDSWORTH.

Aut in umbroso nemorum recessu,
 Fertur ut montis per amata rura aut
 Abditos fontes petit in ruentis

Margine rivi.

H. J. H.

The words we have marked in italics are the only blemishes of this version, and we hope they will be amended in some subsequent edition. The second line is a mere rehash from Horace,—“*Simplici myrto nihil allabores*” (Carm. Lib. i. Od. xxxviii.)—and conveys no idea whatever: *salus* is a foolish word for “healthful”; *flumina* nowhere signifies “rivulet”; *pertinax* should be altered,—*obstinacy of smiles* being too poetical for us; *lares parcos*, “little lares,”—we do not remember this phrase in any good writer; the Penates were always about the same size, and the word *parcos* does not express the cottage simplicity of Wordsworth; *pubica luce*, a *modest light*, is perfectly unintelligible; we can comprehend Gray’s “purple light of love,” but a modest light sets us at defiance. May we beg Mr. Hodgson to “reverse his style,” and blot out these faults from his really good translation?

Prior’s song of *Euphelia and Chloe* is translated by Lord John Manners. His lordship’s version we consider inferior, in some respects, to that which accompanies the original in the edition of Prior’s works. We insert the three:—

EUPHELIA AND CHLOE.

The merchant, to secure his treasure,
 Conveys it in a borrow’d name;
 Euphelia serves to grace my measure,
 But Chloe is my real flame.

Mercator vigilans oculos ut fallere possit,
 Nomine sub ficto trans mare mittit
 opes;
 Lene sonat, liquidumque meis Euphelia
 chordis,
 Sed solam exoptant te, mea vota,
 Chlœe.

My softest verse, my darling lyre,
 Upon Euphelia’s toilet lay;
 When Chloe noted her desire,
 That I should sing, that I should play.

Ad speculum ornabat nitidos Euphelia
 crines,
 Cum dixit mea lux, Heus, care, sume
 lyram;
 Namque lyram juxta positam cum car-
 mine vidit,
 Suave quidem carmen, dulcisonam-
 que lyram.

My lyre I tune, my voice I raise,
 But with my numbers mix my sighs;
 And whilst I sing Euphelia’s praise,
 I fix my soul on Chloe’s eyes.

Fila lyrae vocemque paro, suspiria sur-
 gunt,
 Et miscent numeris murmura mœsta
 meis;
 Dumque tuæ memoro laudes, Euphelia,
 formæ,
 Tota anima interea pendet ab ore
 Chlœes.

Fair Chloe blush'd, Euphelia frown'd ; Subrube illa pudore, et contrahit altera
 I sung and gar'd ; I play'd and trem- frontem,
 bled ; Me torquet mea mens conscia, psallo,
 And Venus to the loves around, tremo ;
 Remark'd how ill we all dissembled. Atque cupidineâ dixit Dea cincta co-
 ronâ,
 Heu fallendi artem quàm didicere
 parùm.

LAVINIA ET CHLOE.

Trans mare mercator falso sub nomine currit,
 Ut vehat intactas dissimulator opes ;
 Non male perjuram decorat Lavinia musam ;
 At mihi lux vera est, veraque flamma Chlœe.

Molle meum in thalamo cultæ Lavinia mense
 Addiderat carmen, dulcisonamque lyram ;
 Quam me blanda Chlœe, quod erat, cantare rogavit,
 Et non indocta verrere fila manu.

Sollicito chordas, vocemque e pectore mitto ;
 Sed gemitus inter carmina triste sonant :
 Dumque audit falsam de se Lavinia laudem,
 Totus adorato figor in ore Chlœes.

Erubuit formosa Chloe ; Lavinia frontem
 Contraxit ; cecini contremuique simul :
 Et Venus ipsa suo ridens clamavit amor—
 En tria facundis prodita corda genis ! J. M.

We think the lines—

“Lene sonat, liquidumque meis Euphelia chordis
 Sed solam exoptant te mea vota Chlœe,”

contrast unfavourably with—

“Non male perjuram decorat Lavinia musam,
 At mihi lux vera est, veraque flamma Chlœe.”

The two lines, “*Molle meum*,” &c., are obscure ; nor can we satisfactorily say *why* his lordship introduces the idiom “*quod erat*” into the third ? We question whether *adorato figor in ore* is classical Latin ; and the concluding conceit,—

“En tria facundis prodita corda genis”

certainly holds no comparison with the older and simpler verse,—

“Heu fallendi artem quàm didicere parùm !

The nursery rhymes, to which we alluded in our first pages, may here be noticed. So satisfied are we with them, that we have transcribed nine. We think it would be almost impossible to make them better ; and they will be a source of rich amusement to those who can be pleased with this species of

literature. The Greek version of "The Man of Thessaly," by Bishop Butler, is, perhaps, the least perfect; but the Anacreontic metre into which "The Queen of Hearts" is rendered, is worthy of Henry Stephens himself; and Porson's "Three children sliding on the ice" might have been written by Aristophanes.

I.

Taffy was a Welshman, and Taffy was
a thief,
Taffy came to my house and stole a bit
of beef;
I went to Taffy's house; Taffy wasn't
at home;
Taffy came to my house and stole a
marrow bone.
I went to Taffy's house, Taffy was in
bed,
I took up the marrow bone and beat
about his head.

II.

As I was going to sell my eggs,
I met a man with bandy legs,
Bandy legs and crooked toes:—
I tripp'd up his heels and he fell on his
nose.

III.

Four and twenty tailors
Went to kill a snail;
The best man among them
Durst not touch its tail.
She put out her horns
Like a little dun cow,
Run, tailors, run,
Or she'll kill you all now.

IV.

The Queen of Hearts
She made some tarts
All on a summer's day;
The Knave of Hearts
He stole those tarts,
And took them quite away.

I.

Taffius in Cimbris natus fur Taffius
idem;
Accessitque fores nostras, carnemque
bovillam
Surripuit: frustra pulsabam limina
Taffi,
Ille aberat—rediitque meos, velut ante,
penates,
Osque medullosum malus abstulit. Ipse
reversus
Invenisse domi furem lectoque reclinem
Lætor, et osse caput rapto sine judice
cædo.

F (RANCIS) H (ODGSON).

II.

Ibam forte forum vendendis impiger
ovis;
Obvius incurvis vir mihi fit pedibus,
Cruribus et varis; mihi supplantare
misellum
Sors erat; in nares incidit ille solo.
F. H.

III.

Sex quater exibant sartores impete
magno,
Viribus ut junctis linax spumosa pe-
raret;
Nec fuit e numero qui auderet tangere
caudam!
Cornua nam extrudens sævissima sicut
in agris
Vacca rubens et nigra, croci contincta
colore
Illa suos hostes tremefecit—abite fu-
gaces
Sartores, vos dira manent dispendia
vitæ
Præsentemque viris intentant omnia
mortem.
F. H.

IV.

Cordium Regina fecit
Quam suavissimas placentas
Die diligens æstivo.
Cordium Fur ille primus
Princeps idem primo natus
Furabatur has placentas,
Penitusque subtrahebat.

The King of Hearts
He miss'd those tarts,
And beat the Knave full sore;
The Knave of Hearts
Brought back those tarts,
And stole them never more.

CANNING.

Cordium Rex iracundus
Novit perditas placentas,
Acriterque verberavit
Furem simul filiumque.
Reddiditque Fur placentas
Princeps idem primo natus,
Cordium Fur ille primus
Neque rursus spoliavit.

F. H.

V.
Ride a cock-horse
To Banbury cross,
To see an old woman upon a black
horse;
With rings on her fingers,
And bells on her toes,
She shall have music wherever she
goes.

V.
I, puer, acer eques; rapiat te mobile
lignum,
Crux ubi Banburie plateas exornat avi-
tas,
Ut vetulam nigro videas equitare ca-
ballo:
Cui gemmæ in manibus, cui tintinna-
bula plantis
Plurima, concordi sonitu comitantur
euntem.

F. H.

VI.
This little pig went to market,
This little pig staid at home;
This little pig had a bit of bread and
butter,
This little pig had none;
This little pig cried wee! wee! wee!
I can't find my way home.

VI.
Porculus ille forum se contulit; ille
remansit
Usque domi; panem butyro porculus
ille
Perfusum arripuit; nullum miser ille;
sed eheu!
Ter repetens 'eheu!' clamabat porcu-
lus 'eheu!'
Ille 'ego porcinos nequeo reperire Pen-
ates.'

F. H.

VII.
There was a man of Thessaly,
And he was wondrous wise;
He jump'd into a quickset hedge
And scratched out both his eyes:
And when he saw his eyes were out,
With all his might and main
He jumped into another hedge,
And scratched them in again.

VII.
'Εξ οὗ τυχόντων Θέτταλος τις ἦν
ἀνὴρ
'ος ἔργον ἐπεχειρήσε τλημονίστατον
ἀκανθοχρηνοκεκόβατον ἐισήλατο,
δίσσας τ' ἀνιξώρυξεν ὀφθαλμῶν κόρας.
ὥς ὄνν τὰ πραχθέντ' ἐβλεπεν τυφλὸς
γεγώς
ὃν μὴν ὑπεπτῆξ ὀυδὲν, ἀλλ' ἐνκαρδίως
βάτον τιν' ἄλλην ἤλατ' ἐς ἀκανθίνην
κάκ τοῦδ' ἐγένετ' ἐξανθὺς ἐκ τυφλοῦ
βλέπων.

S (AMUEL) B (UTLER.)

Thessalus acer erat sapiens præ civibus unus,
Qui mediam insuluit spineta perhorrida sepem,
Effoditque oculos sibi crudelissimus ambos.
Cum vero effossos orbes sine lumine vidit,
Viribus enisum totis illum altera sepes
Accipit, ut raptos oculos cito reddid egenti.

F. H.

VIII.
Hey my chicken, my chicken,
And hey my chicken, my deary;
Such a sweet pet as this
Was neither far nor neary.

VIII.
O mea pullula blandula,
O mea pullula suavis,
Procul in terris aut prope
Non est, ut hæc, rara avis.

Here we go up, up, up,
 And here we go down, down, downy,
 And here we go backwards and for-
 wards,
 And here we go round, round, roundy.

Hic en! ascendimus cœlos,
 Et hic ubi locus est imus;
 Hic rursum et prorsum cursamur
 Et circum, et circum redimus.

F. H.

IX.

Three children sliding on the ice,
 All on a summer's day,
 As it fell out, they all fell in—
 The rest they ran away.
 Now had these children been at school,
 Sliding upon dry ground,
 Ten thousand pounds to one penny
 They had not all been drown'd.
 You parents that have children dear,
 And eke you that have none,
 If you would have them safe abroad,
 Pray keep them safe at home.

IX.

ΚΡΥΣΑΛΛΟΠΗΚΤΟΥΣ τρίπτυχοι κό-
 ροι ῥοὰς
 "Ὅρα θέρους ψάλλοντες ἐντάροις ποσὶ
 Διναῖς ἐπιπτον, οἷα δὴ πιπτεῖν φιλεῖ,
 Ἀπαντες εἰρ' ἐφευγόν δι' ἡλεῖμενοι.
 *Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐγκεκλεισμένοι μοχ-
 λοῖς,
 *Ἦ ποσὶν δλισθάνοντες ἐν ξηρῇ πίδῳ,
 Χρυσῶν ἂν ἠθέλησα περιδόσθαι σταθ-
 μῶν,
 Εἰμὴ μέρος τι των νῶν ἰσωζέτο.
 *Ἄλλ' ὧ τοκεῖς ὅσοις μὲν ὄντα τυγχάνει,
 *Ὅσοις δὲ μὴ, βλαστῆματ' ἐντέκνου
 σποράς,
 *Ἦν ἐντυχεῖς εὐχῆσθε τὰς θυράς' ὁδὸς
 τοῖς παισιν, ἐν σφᾶς ἐν δόμοις φύλασ-
 σετε.
 R. P.

It would be idle, and perhaps impertinent, to comment on the admirable finish of these versions. They half lead us to think that the venerable Gammer Gurton was an old Roman or Athenian lady, and that the above rhymes may have been chaunted in the ears of the infant Socrates, or sung while Scipio was dandled on his nurse's knee.

The paucity of Greek compositions in this collection strikes us with surprise. Does Latin only flourish in Cambridge?—or is it preferred to the beautiful language of Hellas? In this entire garland we believe we could not number a dozen; and, strange to say, not one is to be found in the flute-like metre of Anacreon, or the majestic stanzas of Sappho. A translation of Lily's little madrigal, "Cupid and Campaspe," by Mr. George Caldwell, gives us an opportunity of inserting a couple of versions by Serjeant Murphy. To the Greek we particularly point attention, for, with the exception of one or two hasty metres, it is perfectly Anacreontic.

CUPID AND CAMPASPE.

Cupid and my Campaspe play'd
 At cardes for kisses;—Cupid pay'd:
 He stakes his quiver, bow, and arrows,
 His mother's doves, and teame of spar-
 rows:
 Loses them too;—then downe he
 throwes
 The coral of his lip, the rose

AMOR ET CAMPASPE.

Ludebant simul alea Cupido et
 Campaspe mea pignore osculorum:
 Hæc raptò fruitur; sed ille postis
 Arcuque et pharetra suis sagittis,
 Materno pare passerum et columbis,
 Jactu perdit et illa; perditisque,
 Promittit curalium labri, rosamque
 Miris ingentiam modis genarum;
 9²

Growing on 's cheek (but none knows how),

With these the crystal of his brow,
And then the dimple of his chinne,—
All these did my Campaspe winne.
At last he set her both his eyes,—
She won—and Cupid blind did rise.

O Love, has she done this to thee?
What shall, alas! become of me?

LILY.

His et marmora frontis et latentem
Addit purpureo sub ore risum ;
Quæcumque opposuit rapit puella.
Certat in geminis dehinc ocellos
Exsurgitque oculis minor Cupido.

O factum male vel Deo! sed in me
Mortali misero ah quid est futurum?

GEORGE CALDWELL.

BY MR. SERJEANT MURPHY.

Ερωσ τ' ἐμῇ εταίρῃ
Καμπασπα συγκενβενον
Φιληματ' ἦν δ' αἶθλα.
Λυσεν τ' ἐρωσ ὀφληματ'
Τοξον, βέλη, φρετρήν
Και μητερος πέλειας,
Στρούθων ζυγον τεθηκεν.
Ἀπώλεσεν τ' ἀπαντα
Χείλους τήθης' ἱερειθος
Ροδον τε των παρειων
(Πως οὐν μὲν οὐτις οἶδεν),
Κρυσταλλον ἠδ' ἐθήκε
Τον ἀγλαον μετωπον
Σφραγισμα και γενειον
Καμπασπ' ἀπαντ' ἀνείλεν.
Τελος δὲ οὐματ' ἀμφω
Ἐθήκεν ἐτευξας αὐτῇ
Τυφλος τ' ἀπώχετ' ὦ' ρος
Εἰ ταῦτα σοι μεγιστε
Κακ' ἠδ' Ερωσ ποιησε,
Φεν ἀθλιωτατῳ τι
Μέλλει μοι μινεσθαι ;

I.
Nostra Campaspe levis et Cupido
Alea nuper statuere ludos,
Merx ut hinc illinc foret osculorum—
Solvit at ille.

II.
Pignerat sorti pharetram, sagittas,
Par columbarum, Venerisque bigas
Passeres—cheu, puer aleator
Singula solvit.

III.
Tum labellorum roseos honores,
Mox ebur frontis—simul hanc sub imo
Quæ manu matris fuerat cavata
Rimula mento.

IV.
Solvit—at postquam geminos ocellos
Lusit incassum, manet inde cæcus,—
Sic eum si tu spoliis, puella!
Quanta ego solvam?

The editor's contributions now claim our attention. We will insert two;—one in the very highest vein of humour, the other formed on the model of our old Catholic hymns, and not unworthy of the best times.

UNFORTUNATE MISS BAILEY.

A captain bold in Halifax, who dwelt
in country quarters,
Deceiv'd a maid, who hanged herself
one morning in her garters ;
His wicked conscience smited him, he
lost his stomach daily,
Then took to drinking ratafia, and
thought upon Miss Bailey.
Oh, Miss Bailey ! unfortunate Miss
Bailey !
Oh ! was there ever such an unfortu-
nate Miss Bailey ?

BALA INFORTUNATA.

Acer in hybernis Halifaxi ad mœnia
ductor
Virgineam falso prodidit ore fidem ;
Illa periscelidis nodum trabe vinxit ab
alta,
Et morti infidos se dedit ulta Deos ;
Hunc impermissi torsit mens conscia
facti,
Nauseaque exanimis quotidiana
gulæ ;
Acrior inque dies ardentia vina bibe-
bat—
Sed læsæ haud potuit non memor ! esse
Balæ.
Heu nympha infelix, et iniquis nata
sub astris !
Infortunatæ ah perditâ fata Balæ !

One night he went to bed betimes, for
 he had caught a fever;
 Says he, "I am a handsome man, but
 I'm a gay deceiver;"—
 His candle just at twelve o'clock began
 to burn quite palely:
 A ghost stepped up to his bedside, and
 cried "Behold Miss Bailey!"

"Avaunt, Miss Bailey!" then he cried,
 "your face looks white and mealy;"
 "Dear Captain Smith," the ghost re-
 plied, "you've used me ungentlely;
 The crowner's quest goes hard with me
 because I've acted frailly,
 And Parson Big won't bury me, though
 I am dead Miss Bailey!"
 Oh, Miss Bailey, unfortunate Miss
 Bailey!
 Oh! was there ever such an unfortu-
 nate Miss Bailey?

"Dear ghost," says he, "with you and
 I accounts must once for all close,
 I have a one-pound note within my
 regimental smallclothes;
 'Twill bribe the sexton for your grave;"
 —the ghost then vanished gaily,
 Saying, "bless you, wicked Captain S.,
 remember poor Miss Bailey!"

MORAL.

The ghost was thievishly inclin'd who
 clear'd the captain's riches,
 For with his one-pound note we find,
 she stole his leather breeches!
 Oh, Miss Bailey, unfortunate Miss
 Bailey!
 Nor yet quite so unfortunate, as ras-
 cally Miss Bailey!

G. COLMAN.

Quadam nocte ierat cubitum maturius
 æquo;
 Febre calens jacuit, nec sopor illud
 erat:
 Dumque ita — "Bellus ego, sed bellus
 proditor"—hora
 Ter quater insonuit; pallida lampas
 erat:
 Umbra toro illapsa est, dixitque pro-
 caciter — "Hæc est
 Forma puellaris, frigida forma, Balæ."

"In magnam Bala tota crucem!" ca-
 rissimus ille
 Clamitat — "os album, pollonis in-
 star, habes."
 "O Veneri, Vulcane, tua quæ retia
 texti!
 Auctor tu sceleris, tu necis"—umbra
 refert.
 In me Quæsitore Conjuratione severi
 Quod laqueo interii, quæ tua culpa,
 sedent;
 Pontifice a pingui tumuli mihi justa
 negantur;
 Nec tranem Stygios fas inhumata
 lacus.
 Væ mulier misera, et blando male
 credula amor!
 Infortunatæ ah perditâ fata Balæ!"

Miles ad hæc—"Ventum est ut ad ul-
 timâ, dulcis Imago,
 Viginti solidos hac mea braccia
 tenet;
 Hos cape et exequias, omnis timor ab-
 sit, habebis;
 Latusque excipiet te sine lite Cha-
 ron."
 Vix ea fatus erat, subitoque evanuit
 Umbra;
 Sique fides, vati, risus in ore fecit;
 Dixit et egrediens — "Per faustos sis
 memor annos
 Infortunatæ, Dux scelerate, Balæ!"

FABULE ACCOMMODATIO.

Nec mora prodigiis! — cum solis vellet
 ad ortum
 Quod fuerat moris, miles abire domo,
 Sensit (nec fas est, qui fur sit, furta
 queratur)
 Cum solidis braccas surripuisse Ba-
 lam!
 Proh nympha infelix at iniquis nata
 sub astris!
 Infortunatæ ah perfida facta Balæ!

Herrick's Litany of the Holy Spirit is thus admirably rendered. We have already got it by heart:—

LITANY TO THE HOLY SPIRIT.

In the hour of my distress
When temptations sore oppress,
And when I my sins confess—
Sweet Spirit comfort me!

When I lie within my bed,
Sick in heart and sick in head,
And with doubts discomfited—
Sweet Spirit comfort me!

When the house doth sigh and weep,
And the world is drown'd in sleep,
Yet mine eyes their vigils keep—
Sweet Spirit comfort me!

When the passing bell doth toll,
And the furies in a shoal
Come to fright my parting soul—
Sweet Spirit comfort me!

When the tapers all burn blue,
When the comforters are few,
And that number more than true—
Sweet Spirit comfort me!

When the priest his last has prayed,
And I nod to what is said,
'Cause my speech is now decayed—
Sweet Spirit comfort me!

When (God knows) I'm toss'd about,
Either with despair or doubt;
Yet before the glass runs out—
Sweet Spirit comfort me!

When the tempter me pursueth
With the sins of all my youth,
And half damns me with their truth—
Sweet Spirit comfort me!

When the flames and hellish cries
Fright my ears and fright my eyes,
And all terrors me surprise—
Sweet Spirit comfort me!

When the judgment is revealed,
And that open which was sealed,
When to thee I have appealed—
Sweet Spirit comfort me!

AD SANCTUM SPIRITUM.

*Hora in calamitatis,
Cum tener et prober satis,
O! ut solvar a peccatis,
Solare, dulcis Spiritus!*

*Cum capite et corde æger
Miser intus lecto tegar,
Ne in tenebras releger,
Solare, dulcis Spiritus!*

*Quando domus flet et gemit,
Atque sopor mundum premit,
Nec vigilis me demit,
Solare, dulcis Spiritus!*

*Quum campana sonat mortem,
Furiseque vim consortem
Jungunt, rapiant ut fortem,
Solare, dulcis Spiritus!*

*Lampas fuscus dat colores;
Pauci adstant qui dolores
Levent—veri pauciores!
Solare, dulcis Spiritus!*

*Cum sacerdos summa dabit
Verba, quæ nutu probabit
Caput hoc, si vox negabit,
Solare, dulcis Spiritus!*

*Cum huc illuc (Deus novit)
Ferar, sicut terror movit,
Nec stat sanguis qui me fovit,
Solare, dulcis Spiritus!*

*Cum peccatis me juvenæ
Serpens premit violentæ
Vero heu! consentiente,
Solare, dulcis Spiritus!*

*Aures gemitus obtundunt!
Ignes oculos confundunt,
Nervi sine te succumbunt!
Solare, dulcis Spiritus!*

*En judicium declaratur;
En patet quod celabatur;
En vox iras deprecatur—
Solare, dulcis Spiritus!*

Those who are conversant with studies of this nature must have read and admired the exquisite Latin translations of the late venerable and amiable Archdeacon Wrangham. To the

present collection he has contributed several; of the skill with which he has performed his task, the two following specimens will furnish the reader with a tolerable idea:—

I'd be a Butterfly born in a bower,
Where roses and lilies and violets
meet;

Roving for ever from flower to flower,
And kissing all buds that are pretty
and sweet!

I'd never languish for wealth or for
power,

I'd never sigh to see slaves at my
feet,

I'd be a Butterfly born in a bower,
Kissing all buds that are pretty and
sweet.

Oh could I pilfer the wand of a fairy,
I'd have a pair of those beautiful
wings;

Their summer day's ramble is sportive
and airy,

They sleep in a rose when the night-
ingale sings.

Those who have wealth must be watch-
ful and wary;

Power, alas! nought but misery
brings;

I'd be a Butterfly, sportive and airy,
Rock'd in a rose when the nightin-
gale sings.

What though you tell me each gay
little rover

Shrinks from the breath of the first
autumn day,

Sure it is better when summer is over
To die when all fair things are fading
away.

Some in life's winter may toil to dis-
cover

Means of procuring a weary delay—

I'd be a Butterfly, living a rover,
Dying when fair things are fading
away.

Ah! sim Papilio natus in flosculo,
Rosæ ubi liliaque et violæ halent;
Floribus advolans, avolans, osculo

Gemmulas tangens, quæ suave olent.
Sceptra et opes ego nequitiam postulo,

Nolo ego ad pedes qui se volutant—
Ah! sim Papilio natus in flosculo,

Osculans gemmas quæ suave olent!

Magicam si possem virgam furari,

Alas has pulcras, aptem mi, *cheu!*

Æstivis actis diebus in aère,

Rosa cubant Philomelæ cantu.

Opes quid afferunt?—curas, somnum
rare:

Sceptra nil præter ærumnas, *cheu!*

Ah! sim Papilio, die volans aère,

Rosa cubans Philomelæ cantu!

Quemque horum vagulum dicis horrore
Frigora autumnī ferire suo:

Æstas quando abiit, mallet ego mori

Omni quod dulce est cadente pulcro.

Brumæ qui cupiunt captent labore

Gaudia, et moras breves trahunto,—

Ah sim Papilio: *vivam in errore!!*

Concidamque omni cadente pulcro.

Examining this critically, we have discovered only two faults: the reader will find them marked in italics. The word *flosculo*, in the first verse, is decidedly bad,—it is no translation of the “bower” in the not very sensible original; and *vivam in errore*, does not certainly mean “living a rover.” The archdeacon has not succeeded well in the rhyme. Translations of this kind must needs be perfect in that respect,

otherwise they grate horridly on the ear. Can anything be more musical than Mr. Kenealy's version into Greek of the old Irish song of "Castle Hyde"?

SWEET CASTLE HYDE.

As I rode out on a summer's morning,
Down by the banks of Blackwater
side,
To view the groves and meadows
charming,
And pleasant gardens of Castle Hyde.
It is there you will hear the thrushes
warbling,
The dove and partridge I now de-
scribe,
The lamblkins sporting each night and
morning,
All to adorn sweet Castle Hyde.

If noble princes from foreign places
Should chance to sail to this Irish
shore,
It is in this valley they could be feasted,
As often heroes had done before.
The wholesome air of this habitation,
Would recreate your heart with
pride,
There is no valley throughout the na-
tion,
With beauty equal to Castle Hyde.

There's a church for service in this fine
harbour,
Where nobles often in their coaches
ride,
To view the streams and pleasant gar-
dens,
That do adorn sweet Castle Hyde,
There is fine horses and stall-fed oxen,
And a den for foxes to play and hide,
Fine mares for breeding and foreign
sheeping,
And snowy fleeces in Castle Hyde.

The richest groves in this Irish nation,
In fine plantations you'll find them
there,
The rose and tulip and fine carnation,
All vie with the lily fair.
The buck, the doe, the fox, the eagle,
Do skip and play by the river side,
The trout and salmon they play back-
gammon,
In those clear streams of Castle
Hyde.

"Ἦδὺ Πυργ-Υἷδεν.

Βαδίζων ἄρτι ἡματι θερίνῃ
Παρ' ὄχθας κρηνῆς μελανύδρου,
Ἐχαίρον ἰδεῖν κάλλει ἐαρίνῃ
Στίλβοντας κηπούς Πυργ-Υἷδεν.
Ἐνταυθ' ἀκουσεῖς ὄρνεις μέλποντας,
Τρήρωνος ψῶδ' ἡν καὶ κοράκιου,
Ἀμνοὺς μὲν οὔφει καὶ ἀθυροντας—
Κόσμημα μέγα Πυργ-Υἷδεν.

"Ἡρως' εἰ μὲν χωροῖς πλώοιεν
Ἀλλοτριόις εἰς τὸ νησιον,
Ἐν ὕλῃ ταυτῇ κρεῖα φανοίεν
Ἡμετεροῖς ὥς γε πρότερον.
Τὸ πνευμ' οἰκίσκον του ὕγιον
Τῇν κραδίην μὲν ἀρεσκοῖ σου,
Ἰμεροῦν παν τ' ἐστ' ἐρατίνον
Ἀμφ' ἀλσέα γὰρ Πυργ-Υἷδεν.

Ἐν λίμνῃ ἴσταται νῶϊς μὲν ψυχὰς
Ἡγεμονων σωζέειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς
θεοὺς μηδέποτε λεγουσὶν ἔνχας,
Πυργὸς γὰρ ἐστὶ τούτων ὄναρος.
Βοεὶ καὶ εἰσιν, ταυροὶ τε ἵπποι,
Ἐστ' αλωπηξὶ ἀντρον δῆπου,
Οἷς εἰσιν ὄνοι καὶ τίπτοι
Ἐν ταῖς ἀρουραῖς Πυργ-Υἷδεν.

Τουτοῖς μὲν ἐρύμοις ἀνθῶν ἀνάσσα,
Ῥόδον ζῆλοι τὸ λείριον,
Ὁ κόσμος ἔντρος καὶ ἱερὰ πᾶσα
Οὐκ ἔχει χώρον εὐφορότερον.
Ὁ' εἰσφορὶς τ' αἶετος ποιζοῦσι
Σὺν αλωπηξὶ πᾶρα πόταμῳ,
Ἰχθυεῖς αἰὶ καὶ πεσσενούσι
Καλῆσιν ῥοῆς ἐν Πυργ-Υἷδεν.

I rode from Blarney to Bally-Kenealy,
To Thomastown and sweet Done-
raile,
To sweet Kilshannock and gay Rath-
cormick,
Besides Killarney and Abbey-fail.
The river Shannon and pleasant Boyne,
The flowing Barrow and rapid Bride,
But in all my ranging and serenading
I saw no equal to Castle Hyde.

Βλαρνίας ἔλαι καὶ Βαλλή-Κενιαλή,
Τὸ Θῶμας-αστυ καὶ Ἰλαρον,
Ράθοκορμάκος τὲ φιλ' Αἰβήφαιλη
Θαμὰ μὲν κραδίην ἐβασκάνον.
Εωράκα μὲν Σεννάνου ῥοας
Βαρρῶν ριέθρα καὶ Βρύδιον,
Αλλ' οὐδαμ' ὄψω ριέθρ' ἢ πάας,
Ὅμοια τούτων Πυργ-Υδέων.

Thus it is that translations of this kind should be rendered,
—want of melody being a fatal fault. The Archdeacon has,
however, succeeded better in his adaptation of Suckling. We
have ransacked it closely for an error, and have failed to
detect one. The rhymes too are good.

WHY SO PALE.

Why so pale and wan, fond lover?
Prythee why so pale?
Will, when looking well can't move
her,
Looking ill prevail?
Prythee why so pale?

CUR PALLÉS.

Cur tener pallés amator?
Fare, cur pallés?
Quod rubenti denegatur
Tune pallens id feres?
Fare cur pallés?

Why so dull and mute, fond lover?
Prythee why so mute?
Will, when speaking well can't win
her,
Saying nothing do 't?
Prythee why so mute?

Cur puer taces amator?
Fare cur taces?
Eloquenti quod negatur
Idne tu tacens feres?
Fare, cur taces?

Quit, quit for shame! this will not
move,—
This cannot take her;
If of herself she will not love,
Nothing can make her,—
The devil take her.

Abstine, abstine, proh pudorem!
Istud haud movet;
Sponte ni sentiat amorem
Nil eam flectet,—
Orcus occupet!

F. W.

Having thus slid into the transcription of rhyming songs,
we may as well introduce here a portion of one by Dr. Maginn.
It would be difficult to find any more perfect in language,
music, and fidelity to the original. Its rich and radiant
humour, also, will serve to amuse our readers: and its example
may, perchance, serve to make our Cambridge men look a little
more carefully to their rhymes in future, and not fright us
with such Cockneyisms as the following:—

"Illa adamantino stringitur cordi
Nexu et vinculo — scilicet *audi!!*" [aurdi, Cocknicè.] p. 179.
or this,—worthy only of a Ratcliffe-highway cobbler:—

"Abiit, abiit; sed reminiscimur
Tremuli, mæsti; en sedes *ipsissima*." (ipsissimar.) p. 181.

BISHOP ANDREWS.

II.

I love no rost but a nut browne toste,
And a crab laid in the fire ;
A little breade shall do me steade,
Much breade I not desyre.
No frost, nor snow, nor winde, I trow,
Can hurt me if I wolde,
I am so wrapt and throwly lapt
Of jolly good ale and olde.

III.

And Tyb, my wife, that as her lyfe
Loveth well good ale to seeke,
Full oft drinks shee, tyl ye may see
The teares run downe her cheeke.
Then doth she trowle to me the bowle,
Even as a malt-worm shuld,
And sayth, "Sweet hart, I took my
parte
Of this jolly good ale and olde."

DR. MAGINN.

II.

Assatum nolo — tostum volo —
Vel pomum igni situm ;
Nil pane careo — parvum habeo
Pro pane appetitum.
Me gelu, nix, vel ventus vix
Afficerent injuria ;
Hæc sperno, ni adessit mi
Zythi veteris penuria.

III.

Et uxor Tybie, qui semper sibi
Vult querere zythum bene,
Ebibit hæc persæpe, nec
Sistit dum madeant genæ.
Et mihi tum dat cantharum,
Sic mores sunt bibosi ;
Et dicit, "Cor, en ! impleor
Zythi dulcis et annosi."

The masterly skill with which Mr. Serjeant Murphy has translated the following melody does not require our praise. There are one or two words which might be altered, but on the whole it is a fine version.

BY MR. SERJEANT MURPHY.

Wreath the bowl
With flowers of soul,
The brightest wit can find us ;
We'll take a flight
Towards heaven to-night
And leave dull earth behind us.
Should Love amid
The wreath be hid,
That joy th' enchanter brings us,
No danger fear
While wine is near,
We'll drown him if he stings us.

'Twas nectar fed,
Of old 'tis said,
Their Junos, Joves, Apollos ;
And man may brew
His nectar too, —
The rich receipt as follows.
Take wine like this,
Let looks of bliss
Around it well be blended,
Then bring wit's beam
To warm the stream,
And there's your nectar splendid.

Στεψωμεν ουν κυπελλον
Τοις ανθεμοισι ψυχης,
Τοις φερτατοις φρενες γ'α
Ημιν δυναιντ' εφευρειν.
Ταυτη γαρ ουρανονδει
Τη νυκτι δει πετασθαι
Ταυτην λιποντες αιαν.
Ει γ' ουν ερωσ λαθοιτο
Τοις στεμματισσ' α Τερψις
Ημιν μαγος διδωσιν,
Ουπω ροβος γενοιτο
Ως γαρ παρεστιν οινος
Βαψωμεν ειγε κεντι.

Ως μοι λεγουσι νεκταρ
Παλαι επινον ΗΡΑΙ
Και ΖΗΝΕΣ ηδε ΦΟΙΒΟΙ.
Εξεστι και βροτοισιν
Ημιν ποιειν το νεκταρ'
Ποιησειον γαρ ωδε'
Τουτον λαβοντες οινον
Του χαρματος προσωποισ
Αμφι σκυφος σιφωντες
Τοτε φρενων φαινην
Ποτω χιοντες αυγην
Ιδου παρεστι νεκταρ.

Say why did Time
 His glass sublime
 Fill up with sands unsightly,
 When wine he knew
 Runs brisker through
 And sparkles far more brightly?
 Oh lend it us
 And smiling thus
 The glass in two we'd sever;
 Make pleasure glide
 In double tide
 And fill both ends for ever.

Τιπτ' οὖν Χρονος γε ψαμμος
 Την κλεψυδραν επλησε
 Την αγαλην αεικει;
 Εν μεν γαρ ουδεν, οινον
 Ταχυτερον διαρρειν
 Στιλνωτερον τε λαμπειν
 Δος οὖν δος ημιν αυτην
 Και μειδιωντες ουτως
 Την κλεψυδραν σχισαντες
 Ποιησαμεν γε διπλω
 Ρειν ηδονην ριεθρω
 Εμπλησομεν τ' εταυροι
 Αμφω κυτη ες αι.

Mr. Kenealy translates into Greek with similar ease. We have all listened to, and laughed at, Brian O'Linn, in his English dress; it remained for a young lawyer to introduce him to the fireside circle of King Otho, and the Latin conversaciones of Hungary—a feat accomplished by Mr. Kenealy in spirited versions, which our space, unfortunately, forbids our inserting.

There is one distinguished ornament of Cambridge, whose writings, though not extracted from in the *Arundines*, are eminently worthy of a place therein. We allude to that accomplished scholar, Mr. Justice Williams (himself formerly a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.) We have been favoured with a privately printed copy of some Greek poems by his lordship, and so greatly do we admire the Athenian elegance and spirit with which they are composed, that, pressed as we are for space, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of transcribing here two epigrams, by which we have been particularly struck. This species of writing seems to have not a little engaged his lordship's attention, and he has succeeded in transfusing into his compositions the simple and delicate beauty which characterised the *opuscula* of the old men of Hellas, and which renders the *Anthologia* the most delightful record that we have of the classic grace with which Greek intellect adorned all that it touched.

The pleasure to be derived from a perusal of these polished trifles, epigrams, is thus happily illustrated by his lordship: "Ut in statuâ, aut picturâ, dummodo probetur, pars nulla eminentior esse debet, sed ex totâ contemplanti sensim elucet pulchritudo; sic in iis epigrammatibus quæ laudantur maximè, ita afficitur lector, ut delectari se sentiat, nec causam delectationis planè intelligat, perlegenti autem diligentius atque animum intendenti crescit admiratio." And the most excellent commentary on his words that we can give,

will be to insert here an epigram which in every way exemplifies what he has said:—

ON DEATH.

1839. "Ἦλκε χαῖρε μέγιστε, καὶ ἀγλαὸν ὄμμα Σελήνης,
Καὶ νυκτὸς βλεφάρου λαμπράδες οὐράνιαι,
'Ανθρώπων τε γένος θεοειδές, ποικιλοβούλον,
'Ελπὶς' ἐπαλλήλοις ἀντιμεθελκομένον'
Φροντίδες αἱ πολιοκρόταφοι, τύχη, ἀλγέ', ἄεθλα
'Ερρώσθ',— εἰν Αἰδῶ τον γλυκὺν ὕπνον ἔχω.

We have attempted a paraphrase, but with no hope of doing justice to an epigram, whose attic sweetness and moral are worthy of Meleager himself:—

Farewell—farewell, thou glorious Orb of day,
And thou Selenè, with thy silv'ry eyes;
Farewell ye Stars that gild th' empyreal way,—
Fortune, and Fame, and Deeds of high emprise,
Man born to win and rule the radiant skies!
And haggard Care, and Grief, and Hope, and Pain,—
All, all farewell! My franchis'd spirit flies
Heavenward, to shine within its new domain,
Nor earthly thought nor wish ever to feel again!

Those who have studied the *Anthologia* need not be reminded of the truly Greek spirit of the last line.

The second extract we shall make is loftier in pretension, but is not more beautiful than the first; it is —

ON THE STATUE OF APOLLO.

1815. Οὐρανίων κλιμάτων συλήσας ἀιθάλοεν πῦρ
'Ο κλέπτῃς ὁ πάλαι θνητὸν εἰενξε γένος'
Αὐτὰρ ὁ θαυμάσιος γλυπτὴρ πινυτόφρονι τέχνῃ
'Αθανάτων δόναμιν καὶ μένος εἰργάσατο'—
Εκτέταμαι θυμὸν — ποῖος τις κοῦεῖ γαῖων;
Οὐ τύπον εἰσοράεις, ὦ γαθὲ, — παντα θεός'
Αὐτὸς ὁ πανδάμιαυρ τοξεντήης, αὐτὸς Ἀπολλων
Θρώσκει ἐπὶ κρήνῃδ' οὐπανόθεν καταβας.

THE ABOVE PARAPHRASED BY THE HONOURABLE MR. BARON ALDERSON AND MYSELF.

[TO THE SCULPTOR.]

If that Prometheus stole the fire divine,
What was his daring, when compared to thine?
He did but warm to life the senseless clod,
But thou hast made the marble seem a god;—
A present god! as on that form I gaze,
A present god! I cry in wild amaze:
Fresh from the triumph, glorying in his might,
The all-conquering Archer, lord of heat and light,—
Apollo's self confest before our eyes
Bounds on the base, new lighted from the skies!

Would that we had room for more. All are elegant,—all worthy of the romantic land of muse and demigod in whose language they are written. But we have already trespassed on our space, otherwise we should do ample justice to this charming little book. We conclude, inserting the words of the late Lord Tenterden, written in court to Mr. Justice Williams, on receiving some of his lordship's Greek *scripta* :—

“ Si quali cuperem referre possem
Græco carmine gratias referrem ;
Hunc linguâ accipias precor Latinâ
Nec tu versiculum poeta temnas.”

ART. V.—*Reports of the Children's Employment Commission.*

Presented by command of Her Majesty to both Houses of Parliament.

THE extension of inquiry into the moral and domestic condition of the working classes, is among the best fruits of the growing Christianity of government. It is not doubted, that the welfare of society mainly depends on the minor and daily influences which mould the conduct, and determine the position of the people; and especially of the industrial classes. Nevertheless, until latterly, legislation has proceeded on a shallow knowledge of the actual state of the great bulk of the governed, and almost without regard to the sources of the evils which government exists to cure. We have legislated at far too great a distance from the objects of legislation. Our laws have grappled with the results, rather than the roots of the evil. A practical and intimate knowledge of the habits, thoughts, character, circumstances, and ignorances of the people, has been virtually, if not avowedly, deemed irrelevant to the duties of an office whose object is popular welfare!

A new page has been now opened in the science of government. A closer view of those committed to its care has been deemed advisable, and will be ere long systematised as essential. Power has descended from its state stilts, and visited the homes and haunts of the working people. The system of *laissez faire*, so judicious where administration feels its incapacity to legislate beneficially, is admitted to be criminal where it is competent and willing to administer wisely.

Legislative interference with the concerns of society cannot be approved or condemned *abstractedly*. No one can deny the benefit of an interposition productive of good; whether it be interposition of a public character, or with respect to the more private relations of life. A sense of what is right among the people is unquestionably the best security against the evils of immorality, or the physical grievances which cupidity may inflict on a state. We would far rather see a people set themselves right by reason, than kept right by authority. But this is not always possible. Laws are often indispensable to the fruition of the moral agencies. Religious ministry, of all others the highest moral agent, has often no access to the people, if the state do not open the way.

The Reports of the Children's Employment Commission on Mines afford a peculiarly striking evidence of this truth. The fearfully degraded state of this laborious class would never have been known without the official inquiry which has brought it to light, after centuries of concealment. Equally manifest is it, that no efforts of individual philanthropy would suffice to eradicate the evils of a system, which is carried on out of the sight of those who are sufficiently disinterested to desire its amendment and work out the remedy. Moreover the inveteracy of habit among miners, and the peculiarities and severity of mineral labour, effectually prohibit the access of instruction to their minds by any of the ordinary means of education. The daylight of life is consumed in the mines, to which children are consigned at an infant age; whilst the associations to which they are subjected, especially where females are employed, debase and demoralize. Hence we find a race, living and rearing generation after generation, alienated from the civilization of the land; shortening stature and life by premature and excessive draughts of strength in youth; engendering early decrepitude of body, and absolute darkness of mind; perpetuating habits which degrade the dignity of industry; outraging even the natural distinctions of sex and decency; and reducing no insignificant portion of the working classes, to a condition of life and labour on a parity with brutes. That this canker in our community cannot be remedied by appliances apart from the authority and universality of law, Mr. Wilson, a highly respected and experienced coal master in Yorkshire, has amply shown in his evidence. (Part I. 258.) He says—

“I have always found in uneducated men a great indisposition to work any new system which they do not approve or understand.

They invariably evade their duty, and are exceedingly ingenious in doing so; or they will enforce a rule, where it happens to produce a strong case of hardship, and thus throw odium on the regulation in order to get rid of it.

"This is a point well worthy of consideration, *because it might be thought that an employer had only to insist, and his orders would be obeyed*; or that, if not obeyed, he ought to dismiss his agent. But an agent who understands the practical part of his business, and attends to it, is too valuable to be lightly parted with, and especially when there would be no hope of better success with his successor."

Where evils so extensive and obnoxious are thus irremovable by other means, there can be little doubt that legislative interference is an infringement on the rights of property, far more defensible, than the wrongs to society which property permits, and avows its inability to remove. It is futile to say the people are their own masters. No people in a state of dense ignorance are, ever were, or ever will be their own masters. They have not the power of choice; they have not the knowledge either to understand their own condition, or to see the means of mending it. This applies peculiarly to colliers.

The colliers in East Scotland were, till 1775, slaves by law; in that year they were emancipated, by the 39th Geo. III, c. 56. They were emancipated, but not educated; and the result was that they did not understand freedom, and *continued slaves* by force of habit, undergoing "barbarous and cruel slavery" for nearly thirty years,—a slavery but little modified at the present time. See the Report of R. H. Franks, Esq., on Scotland, § 14, *et seq.*

The neglect of the minds and comforts of the poorer, by the higher classes of society, has long ranked among the gravest crimes of communities, and foremost among the sins of England. The professed paternity of government has not prevented monstrous neglect of one half of its offspring. With free trade in all sorts of mental poison, and liberty in the wildest abuses of labour, amidst activity of evil and indolent knowledge, the masses have long lain in the abyss of ignorance and demoralization, fostered by the slumber of government and the dead repose of ministerial morals.

Of late years, individual philanthropy and Christian knowledge, if they have failed in removing the evil, have at least brought it into light. If we cannot congratulate ourselves on abuses effectually abolished, some are already mitigated; and we see cheering proof of the awakening energy of bene-

volence. The indifference of intellect to ignorance is passing away. The appreciation of the interests of intelligence is growing with the strength of higher and holier motives; and there is something more than a mere admission of the policy of educating those among whom we live, gaining ground amongst the Christian public. The peril to peace and property which ignorance engenders, has been long acknowledged; the efforts to remove it are day by day more and more empowered and sanctified by the perception of the Christian duty of uplifting our fellow-beings from a state of degradation and darkness, which preys on the vitality of their social welfare, renders them bad neighbours, bad members of families, dangerous citizens, and negligent workmen.

To Lord Ashley high praise is due for the development of this mighty peril in one of its worst phases. He has done *more* than this; he has given a practical rebuke to that indifference towards the poor, which has been the main cause of schism between the two great classes, on whose union the prosperity of both depends,—an indifference which tolerates ignorance, and aggravates the grievances of the poor and their peril to the rich.

The physical condition of the mining population has been already well and amply discussed; but the moral and mental state of the objects of this inquiry has yet to be exhumed from the large volumes which contain the researches of the sub-commissioners.

The evidence they give of the state of morals and minds in this important sphere of industry, appears to us to be among the most important revelations yet made on the subject of education. We therefore propose to gather the most graphic and illustrative portions of the evidence and facts from these interesting reports, which relate to morals and education.

The mines of Ireland presented far fewer circumstances of extreme toil or suffering than those of England and Scotland. The scandal of female labour in mines does not exist in Ireland; and whether arising from these facts, or from the serious indisposition of the commissioner, the reports on Irish collieries are remarkably sterile and pointless. We glean only the following facts. Speaking of the County Wicklow mines, Mr. Roper says:—

“There is a market at Avoca on the pay days: I was present at one, which was attended by most of the miners and their families, and many families from the neighbourhood; and although during

the day I should think there must have been upwards of one thousand people, yet not one instance of intoxication did I see. This market has all kinds of supplies, principally of food, likely to be wanted by the miners, for whose convenience entirely I believe it was instituted, not being an acknowledged market.

"I regret to say that, notwithstanding they have left off whiskey-drinking, they do not appear to have acquired any very provident habits as to the disposal of their money, if I may judge from the appearance of their cabins, for, generally speaking, more wretched, dirty, and filthy habitations I never beheld. I believe there are some of the miners who have money in the Savings Bank. There are Sunday and day-schools in the neighbourhood, and a national school; there is also a school in connexion with the Ballymurtagh mine, on the principle of the national school, and one about to be established at the Ballygahan mine; indeed the children of the poorer classes appear to be well provided with schools."

Far otherwise is the account of other districts. At the Allihies copper mines—

"The people are almost entirely uneducated; many of the young persons of whom I made inquiries could neither read nor write, or had ever been to school; many of the parents said it was as much as they could do, and sometimes more, to provide food for their families."

At the Kenmare copper and lead mines, Mr. Roper "regrets to say that they may be said to be almost entirely uneducated;" whilst at the Lackamore copper mine "Education is almost but a name among them."

In West Scotland Mr. Tancred speaks of the "utterly depraved state" in which a large portion of the colliery and iron-work hands are living; one, he elsewhere says, "upon the existence of which, in a civilized country, we cannot reflect without a deep feeling that it manifests something essentially defective in our religious and educational institutions."

Mr. Franks describes in the strongest terms the effects of the outrageous abuses of the East Scotland collieries. The colliers there spend whole nights in "beastly inebriety;" the mothers are inapt in household work, and management of their homes; and the persons of their children swarm with vermin; "many unmarried females are particularly loose;" "the decent proprieties of domestic life" are disregarded; and so immoral and degrading is the effect of female labour prevalent in the mines, "that other classes of operatives refuse intermarriage with the daughters of colliers who are wrought in the pits." "The age at which the children

commence working, together with the hours of labour, entirely check their education, corrupt their morals, and forbid us to hope for any physical, social, or moral improvement in a succeeding generation, without a discreet limitation."

In Northumberland, though no females work in the collieries, and morals are, as is always the case, superior in chastity to where they are employed, the evidence abounds with accounts of their systematic deceit and other vices. The Rev. Hugh Nanny, vicar of Jarrow, writes:—

"The morals of the children here are very bad, their education almost none; their intellect very much debased, both from their habits at home and their employment in the pit. One great cause is large families being pent up in small habitations."

The religion of the colliers of Northumberland is more akin to superstition than piety:—

"It has been shown (says Mr. Morison) that persons employed about collieries possess prejudices of a remarkable nature, and a credulity which often sets the dictates of reason at defiance, peculiarities of the human mind that may be stated to be the rude fabric on which religion amongst all people is based. It will not, therefore, be wondered at, that however great may be the excesses of pitmen, a religion is a very important and essential feature in the constitution of their social economy. In a colliery village of any standing, we find two or three dissenting chapels devoted to the various offshoots from Methodism—Wesleyans, Ranters, Kilhamites, New Connexion, and Warrenites; sects which appear to differ from each other very little in points of government, and less in doctrinal points. The dissenting chapels at collieries are well attended, and prayer meetings are held in them during the week. In the county of Durham there are to be found most excellent clergymen of the Church of England, connected with churches near colliery villages, whose moderation exerts a beneficial influence over the minds of pitmen."

A far less favourable account is given by Mr. Daniel Liddell, of Newcastle. (Evid. No. 634, p. 710.)

"A very small proportion of the colliery population attend a place of worship on Sundays, and there are large collieries at which not a single pitman or any of his family attends the parish church. The chapels at collieries are for the Methodists, and the services in these are conducted by local preachers. On Sundays the older persons meet and pass their time in frivolous or impure conversation. The youths resort to the fields and engage in amusements; these amusements are frequently of a barbarous character, as many of the colliery boys have dogs. Few of the colliery population of Northumberland become inmates of the gaols, but crime prevails to a considerable extent among the colliery

population of Durham, which ranks lower in the scale of intelligence and respectability. At some collieries the mechanics are generally at work as usual on the Sundays."

The South Durham district, inspected by Dr. Mitchell, though it presents a much more favourable aspect than that, of the morals of the majority of the collieries, affords a painful evidence of the universal dearth of efficient religious instruction.

Yorkshire presents a less amount of actual vice than would be expected from the prevalence, in some parts of it, of female labour, which is common in the neighbourhood of Barnsley, and the thin seams of Flockton and Huddersfield. There, "sexual vices are of common occurrence;" but generally, says Mr. Symons, "the vices of collier children are decidedly less than those of the manufacturing class. This is owing to the colliers being more closely confined and tired when their work is done: also to their not working so continuously together."

The licence of the passions is greatest in Lancashire. The profligacies perpetrated in the pits where females are at work in a state of semi-nudity, and the men entirely unclothed, as is frequently the case in Yorkshire, are illustrated by the commissioners of both districts with a fidelity of detail which precludes our quotation of scenes so prurient. The habits and manners of colliers in Lancashire are thus vividly portrayed, and the picture applies to the generality of districts:—

"The houses of colliers are, for the most part, exceedingly filthy, and very much confined; many have only one room below and one above, in which the whole of the family sleep, many of them being crammed into one bed. I have been told by inhabitants that as many as six or seven have slept in one bed; young men and women and the father all sleep in the same room. There are entire streets in Wigan where the houses are placed back to back; there is only one room, and only one door, so that there is no possibility of ventilation. In many of these wretched hovels two or more families are huddled. The streets inhabited by the working class here are in an abominable state, totally devoid of sewerage, with the exception of the main streets. Filth, and water impregnated with animal and vegetable matter, are allowed to accumulate in the streets in a state of decomposition, producing noxious effluvia. These causes operate to a great extent to produce fever, which, in some periods of the year, prevails with great violence, especially when by fluctuation in trade the working class are deprived in a great degree of the proper necessities of life. The privies are not sufficiently numerous for the houses in the streets, and those which do exist are kept in such a filthy state that many do not go to them."

The habit of crowding whole families in one bedroom is very generally described as a cause of profligacy. The Rev. Dr. Besley, Rector of Long Benton Parish, Northumberland—

“Thinks the habit of lodging together so closely, and of the men washing half-naked in the presence of the women, are productive of evil, and render it impossible for the clergyman to take his lady with him, when visiting the pitmen’s houses. Although the pitmen marry early, yet, perhaps, out of twelve marriages, five would be very shortly followed by the birth of a child.”

Similar evidence abounds throughout the Report, and powerfully evinces the necessity of providing such alterations in the houses of the poor as shall, at least, obviate inevitable outrages to decency.

The Gloucestershire district exhibits the cheering symptoms of future regeneration. The southern part, says Mr. Waring,

“Has experienced a great moral change within the last half century. The colliers were formerly the terror of the surrounding neighbourhoods, and for gross ignorance, rudeness, and irreligion, were almost without parallels in any Christian community. The labours of those great reformers of life and manners, the celebrated Wesley and Whitfield, began a work which has been making progress ever since, in the hands of not only their disciples, but those of the National Church, happily aroused and stimulated by their example.

Mr. Fletcher, the Secretary of the Commission, describes the colliers of Lancashire as a

“Population proportionately prone to exhibit instances of ferocity and of gross self-indulgence : and yet the universal testimony is to the improvement which has already taken place upon the manners of the passing generation. To see so much animal vigour, and such extensive resources for comfort, or even enjoyment, still misused by so many, is very painful ; left, as they are, in a moral condition *little raised above that of the brutes*. But a considerable number of the colliers are men of better habits, attached to the ministry of the Church, or to the several dissenting congregations.”

In the Forest of Dean, a race, peculiar in their habits, sins, and character, present themselves. Mr. Waring portrays much crime, lightened, nevertheless, by the dawn of a religious feeling. The temptations to theft, held out by the loose protection to the Forest property, corrupted the people at an early period ; of which the fruits are still to be traced. The following is a sketch of one of their besetting sins :—

“A common and very ingenious mode of deer-slaying (says

Mr. Waring), described to me by an old forester, is worthy of relation. A man took a small bundle of sweet hay under his arm, and scattered it at the foot of some umbrageous tree near the haunts of the deer. The caitiff then climbed into the tree, taking with him two or three heavy stones, and concealing himself among the branches, silently awaited his prey. No sooner did the unsuspecting deer, attracted by the fragrant bait, commence his feed, than the stone was let fall, with unerring aim, directly between his antlers, stunning him instantly ; when the man had only to descend, complete the slaughter, and bear away his victim at nightfall, without having incurred any risk of alarm."

Drunkenness seems a more common crime at present.

"The Rev. Henry Berkin, incumbent of Trinity Church, who has grown old in the service of the Forest population, declared the beer-shops were doing more to counteract his religious labours, than any other source of evil. He mentioned having seen boys under twelve years of age 'staggering drunk'—an outrage on decent morals unheard of in 'the old times,' with all their defects. It is remarkable, that neither over their ale, nor on other occasions, are the Foresters addicted to political discussions. The Monmouthshire Chartist discovered this, much to their chagrin, when they sent a deputy in 1839 to make converts among the loyal miners ; for he was received so ungraciously, that he thought it expedient to decamp 'without tuck of drum,' or loss of time."

In North Wales, improvement has gone further than in Gloucestershire, and in no part of the empire are the morals of the colliers so good. The Sunday is "religiously observed, swearing uncommon, and the children are orderly, and, in general, free from vice." A desire is evinced, moreover, for education. The impediments of long hours of work, and labour at early ages, maintain a large amount of ignorance. Formerly much depravity existed, and the change is attributed to the exertions of the clergy, but chiefly of the Wesleyan Methodists. It is pleasing to find, if not an Oasis in the wilderness, at least one district where "temperance, morality, and religion, are spreading their hallowed influences."

In South Wales a widely different state of morals exists: the Rev. Mr. Williams, curate of Merthyr Tydvil, says:—

"The morals of the people are very bad ; illicit intercourse of the sexes is common in three cases out of four amongst the working people taken generally. You will find in some quarters of the town, in the lodging-houses, that young men and women sleep in the same chamber, married people as well : I have witnessed such in visiting the sick. Such places are Caedraw and Celéry, in Pontstonehouse, in this town. They are of course the resort of the lowest classes.

The working people here living grossly ; yet they are careful to keep up a good dress, which they manage to do by benefit societies ; their frequent processions foster this, and their constant appearance in public, at festivals of their societies, is an additional motive for their respectability of appearance. The employment of girls in the works tends greatly to their demoralization. They get habits of intemperance, and indeed all sorts of vice."

The Catholic priest of Merthyr says :—

"For the morals of the population, whilst children of both sexes are allowed by their parents to drink, smoke, swear, and talk obscene language, before twelve years of age, they cannot be expected to come up to the morality even of Canadian savages."

A singular instance of the tendency of the people of one district to intermarry exclusively among themselves, and to retain their character, unchanged by time, occurs in Mr. Franks' Report, in speaking of the district round Neath, in Glamorganshire :—

"The 'Merra,' is the name of a small plot of land adjoining the Knoll Colliery on the eastern side of the town of Neath. The community, who inhabit a long line of cottages built on this plot of ground, are descendants of a small colony of Staffordshire colliers, who were brought over by Sir H. Mackworth, about ninety years since, to work the collieries in this district. They have formed quite a separate caste, and are known by the name of the 'Merra people.' Their women are distinguished from the surrounding population by superior beauty, both of face and form, and yet it is only within a few years they have intermarried with the men of the Abbey Iron Works and Foundry, *where many Shropshire men* are employed. The 'Merra women' receive great praise, on all hands, for their marked industry and patient endurance : their principal occupation is to carry pottery, in heavy weights, on their heads, thirty miles and more in the day, to Cardiff and Merthyr : they wear neither shoes, stockings, nor stays : their dress of woollen fabric, of gaudy yet well-contrasted colours, sits loosely on their well-formed limbs. They are known as the least educated class in the neighbourhood ; yet they exhibit a shrewdness in their dealings superior to others of their rank of life ; and, what is more to their credit, their virtue and honesty have become as proverbial as their beauty."

Mr. Franks adds the following interesting account of the early marriages and improvident practices of the Monmouthshire miners.

"Intemperance seems rarely to be the vice of the women of South Wales, and however frequent and early the connexion of the sexes may be, the cases of bastardy are comparatively trifling ; it

being usual, as I am informed, for a youth to marry a girl when discovered to be pregnant by him. Many instances of improvidence occur, as may be expected from such early marriage—a mere child of fourteen years of age becoming a wife, and her first important act is to open an account at the shop for goods, clothing, food, &c. This facility of procuring goods to the credit of her husband's labour induces extravagance. * * *

By a reference to the evidence of John Evans, schoolmaster, No. 270, you will see the effect of this. The witness says—'Nothing can exceed the mischief of these shops; men will go to the shop and get a pound of sugar, or what not, and take it to the public-house for drink. *I frequently myself take goods from the colliers instead of money; the colliers have no money.* I can't do anything else; I can't express myself sufficiently strongly on this subject. There is very seldom any balance for the working man to receive; they are serewed down to the lowest possible pitch.' David Edwards, schoolmaster, Blackwood, says—'I receive my fees sometimes in goods.' The system as at present carried on is much felt by the working people themselves, and is the subject of frequent complaint by them; and I cannot but consider it highly disadvantageous to the children as well as the men. These shops supply food, clothing—in some places articles of luxury, jewellery, &c., and furniture of all sorts—in short, in these districts, everything is supplied *but education.*"

The following statement of the drunkenness of the workmen in this district is horribly impressive. Until this mighty evil be subdued, all remedies are obstructed, and other vices, negligences, and ignorances, remain almost unassailed. Mr. Henrick, a witness examined in Trevethin, Monmouthshire, gives this startling picture. It is far from an uncommon one.

"There are in the parish of Trevethin 1962 drunkards out of a population of 17,196 persons. Perhaps some will be surprised that I could obtain an account of the number of drunkards, and anticipate a great reluctance to give information, but I did not find it the case; a certain collier being asked the number of drunkards in his house, said, 'Will you count them as I call their names?—there's my son John, Jim, and William, Dick, Thomas, Ned, and Joe, that makes seven; and there's myself,' and, pointing to his wife, 'there's the old woman, you may put her down, for she gets drunk as well as the rest of us!'—That was making rather a bad use of the maxim—'Train up a child in the way it should go.' I am sorry to add that the taste for ardent spirits is becoming more general; when I came into the parish, scarcely any one drank spirits, now boys of ten or twelve years of age will go into the bar of a public-house and call for a noggin of rum, and farmers' wives and daughters will take a glass of spirits on a market-day without

a blush. Do I overrate the evils of drunkenness in the parish? and am I wrong in saying that the proper nursery for all kinds of sedition and disturbance, of which we have had enough, is the beer-shop? Is it not the place where robberies are planned, where quarrels and assaults are promoted, from which discontent and rebellion spring, where the hard-earned wages of the artisan are squandered in riot and confusion, to the injury of his health and of his understanding, and to the ruin of his family? When wages are high, what becomes of the surplus earnings of the workman? they go to the drunkard's saving-bank, the 'beer-shop,' and I calculate that the workmen of the Varteg Iron-works alone, deposited in that kind of security 12000*l.* during the last twelve months."

Marriage far more generally follows illicit connexion among colliers than among artisans.

On the whole, though many instances of gross depravity prevail in collieries, we are confirmed in the belief, that even more deliberate and habitual crime characterises the populace in manufacturing towns; and to this conclusion we find that those authorities arrive who have had the best means of acquainting themselves with the character and crimes of both classes.

The Reports unfold a state of ignorance which, we apprehend, is wholly unparalleled in the empire. If the morals of the miners are matter for lamentation, their minds are in a state deplorable for themselves, and absolutely perilous to others. Even in Scotland, where education has been regarded rather as an element of welfare and an essential of life, than as the privilege of easy circumstances, we find Mr. Franks reporting, that out of 3,836 children, 150 can only write their names legibly, and that education is almost totally neglected. The Rev. Colin MacCulloch, of Denny, East Scotland, well observes on ignorance of the colliery children—

"The state of mind which this produces is contentment with the lowest standard, a complete and almost unconquerable distrust of self, a blind surrender to the judgment of another, and a thorough dislike of reading."

In the extensive collieries of the Tyne, Mr. Leifchild found that, excepting some favoured instances, the ignorance of the men and children was excessive.

"Several children and young persons, who averred their regular attendance at public worship, could or would attach no definite meaning to the most ordinary religious terms, and consequently while they had not lost, could not be deemed to have profited, by their attendance."

In religious knowledge many of the children are fearfully deficient.

"In one or two instances (Mr. Leifchild reports that) the answers returned to questions upon religious knowledge were too appallingly profane to admit of publication ; and it struck me as an astounding fact, when more than one boy, both in pits and iron-works (and even in one of the best conducted iron-works in a large town), being closely pressed upon the subject, confessed that their sole knowledge of sacred and *awful terms was derived from their daily desecration in the works!* The case of the witness, No. 586, aged fourteen, who states that 'he never heard of hell, except when he has heard the men swearing about it,' was, unfortunately, neither solitary, nor altogether uncommon."

In Yorkshire pains were taken to probe the knowledge and ascertain the deficiencies of the children. Mr. Symons reports that—

"With regard to the fruits of education, and with respect even to the common truths of Christianity and facts of Scripture, I am confident that the majority are in a state of heathen ignorance. The evidence of the children exhibits a picture of moral and mental darkness which must excite horror and grief in every Christian mind: I can most conscientiously say that it is anything but an overdrawn one. Some are indeed better instructed, but of those who work in collieries there is not above one out of three, or, *at most, two out of five*, who can answer the commonest questions relative either to scriptural or secular knowledge. I unhesitatingly affirm that the mining children, as a body, are growing up in a state of absolute and appalling ignorance; and I am sure that the evidence I herewith transmit, alike from all classes,—clergymen, magistrates, masters, men, and children, will fully substantiate and justify the strength of the expressions which I alone have felt to be adequate to characterise the mental condition of this benighted community."

The exact answers of the children themselves are frequently given in the evidence, they having been examined by the Commissioner apart from the presence of parent or overseer; and in most instances without any timidity or reserve on the part of the child. Here are some specimens:—

Joseph Holmes, aged 13:

"They never explain anything to us at the school; there is only a lad to teach us. If I'm a good boy I shall go to heaven when I die. Jesus Christ was a shepherd; he came a hundred years ago on earth to receive sin. I don't know who the apostles were. I must pray in order to be saved, that is to go to heaven."

Daniel Drenchfield, nearly 10 years old:

"I never go to play at night; I get my supper and go to bed. I have been to Sunday school, and I go to one every Sunday at Wortley; I can read *Reading made Easy*; they teach me religion; God made the world; but I don't know who Jesus Christ was, or whether he died on earth or not; it's not the clergyman but a master that teaches us; we learn spelling; I know I shall go to hell if I am not a good boy; I never learnt writing; twice ten is twenty, but I don't know what three times ten is; I don't know how many weeks there are in the year, nor how many months there are; I don't know whether London is the biggest town in England or not. (This boy repeated the Catechism, but had not the least idea what 'inheritor of the kingdom of heaven' meant, nor had he any notion of the meaning of what he repeated.)"

Isaac Beaver, aged 12:

"Has learnt religion pretty well. I don't know who Jesus Christ is; I never heard of him. I don't know what is the largest town in England. Three times ten is twenty."

Elizabeth Dey, aged 17, working in the Barnsley Colliery, says:

"We always hurry* in trousers, as you saw us to-day when you were in the pit. Generally I work naked down to the waist, like the rest; I had my shift on to-day when I saw you, because I had had to wait, and was cold; but generally the girls hurry naked down to the waist. It is very hard work for us all; it is harder work than we ought to do, a deal. I have been lamed in my ankle, and strained in my back. * * * I have never been at school. I had to begin working when I ought to have been at school. I don't go to Sunday school. The truth is, we are confined bad enough on week-days, and want to walk about on Sundays; but I go to chapel on Sunday night. I can't read at all. Jesus Christ was Adam's son, and they nailed him on to a tree; but I don't rightly understand these things."

Bessy Bailey, 15 years old:

"I go to the Methodist chapel every Sunday evening. They read the Bible at the chapel, but I don't understand it. I go to chapel because I think it is the best place on Sunday nights. Jesus Christ died for his son to be saved. I don't know who the apostles were. Twenty-two pence is three shillings and fourpence. I don't know how many weeks there are in the year. I don't know what Ireland is, whether it is a town or a country."

Mary Dey, aged 16:

"I go regularly to a Methodist Sunday school. I can read

* The technical expression for running along, pushing, or pulling the little coal waggons in the pits.

little words only. I hear about religion there. I have heard of Jesus Christ; but, 'please, sir, we haven't taken a deal of notice of that.' Four times five is twenty; five times six is forty. I don't know how many weeks there are in the year."

Both these girls have been burnt to death since, by an explosion of gas. Another says:

"I have been to Sunday school. I can read *Reading made Easy*. The Lord made the world. He sent Adam and Eve on earth to save sinners. I heard my grandfather tell about it; he's a great reader, but he can't see. I have heard of the Saviour; he was a good man, but he did not die here; he is in heaven. We must pray to be saved."

Ann Eggle, aged 18:

"I walk about and get the fresh air on Sundays. I have not learnt to read. I don't know my letters. I never learnt nought. I never go to church or chapel; there is no church or chapel at Gawber, there is none nearer than a mile. If I was married I would not go to the pits, but I know some married women that do. The men do not insult the girls with us, but I think they do in some. I have never heard that a good man came into the world, who was God's son, to save sinners. I never heard of Christ at all. Nobody has ever told me about him, nor have my father and mother ever taught me to pray. I know no prayer; I never pray. I have been taught nothing about such things."

Elizabeth Eggle, aged 16:

"I cannot read; I do not know my letters. I don't know who Jesus Christ was. I never heard of Adam either. I never heard about them at all. I have often been obliged to stop in bed all Sunday to rest myself. I never go to church or chapel."

Mr. Scriven, who reports on the Halifax district, says:—

"In an examination, at the pit's bottom, of two hundred and nineteen, I found only thirty-one that could read an easy book, and of the same number fifteen could write their names; these had been taught, before they commenced work, in some day school: the rest were wholly incapable of connecting two syllables. They seldom or never attend places of religious worship, as it is only on the Sunday, for six months in the year, that they catch a glimpse of light, when they are but little disposed to submit to the ordeal of a Sunday school. * * * Thomas Mitchell (No. 68), aged 13, whose condition would be a disgrace to the savage tribes of the most savage nation, for they have at least their gods in some shape, whilst he had no knowledge of the name, says, 'I have hurried four years for Thomas Mitchell (his uncle); I don't know what you mean by *uncle*; I never heard of *Jesus Christ*; I don't know what you mean by *God*; I never heard of *Adam*, or know what you

mean by *Scriptures*. I have heard of a Bible, but don't know what 'tis about. If I tell a lie, I don't know whether 'tis good or bad."

This staggers the Commissioner, whose surprise is thus relieved by the proprietor of the mine where Mitchell works:

"Mr. James Wilcox states: 'You have expressed some surprise at Thomas Mitchell not having heard of God. I judge that *there are very few colliers here about that have.*'"!!!

Education is proceeding quite as prosperously in Lancashire. One of the most intelligent and sharp-witted children examined by Mr. Fletcher:

"Went to the Old Methodist Sunday-school five months ago, but his father took him off three months ago, because he had such ragged clothes. Went before for a week or two to a Sunday-school i' th' Bunk [Bank]. Cannot say his letters. [Adds a few small numbers but has no notion of subtraction.] Has heard of hell in the pit when the men swear; has never heard of Jesus Christ; has never heard of God, but has heard the men in the pit say 'G— d— thee.' Does not know what county he is in; has never been anywhere but here, i' th' pit, and at Rochdale; never heard of London: has heard of the Queen, but dunnot know who he is."

Mr. Kennedy says:—

"It appears that out of 1113 males, between thirteen and eighteen years of age, 23·9 per cent. can write their names: that of 206 females of the same, 1·3 per cent. can write their names. When the children have stated they could read an easy book, I have put them to the test, and, with very few exceptions, I have found that their attention was so completely absorbed in the mechanical process of deciphering the letters and spelling the words, that they did not understand the meaning of a single sentence. * * * Want of education is accompanied by a degraded moral sense, gross and brutalized habits, depravity, and crime."

In Derbyshire, Mr. Fellows reports that the state of education calls loudly for legislative interference.

In South Durham, Dr. Mitchell reports scholastic education to be in a very low state, and in Staffordshire neither very bad nor very good.

Even in North Wales, where the moral condition is undergoing improvement, Mr. Herbert Jones reports that—

"Amongst the collier boys not one in ten can read with anything approaching correctness, or so as to comprehend the sense of what he reads; those in the mines are almost, though not quite, as illiterate, probably because they do not go to work so early. Both classes are, however, utterly ignorant. It is an uncommon circumstance to meet with one who can read, write, *and* cast accounts.

"There is, however," he adds, "a growing desire for education evinced, but while children are at work from morning to night, and sometimes all night, there is little time in which to gratify this desire."

In South Wales ignorance reigns universally. Mr. Samuel Jones, cashier of the Waterloo colliery, in Merthyr, says:—

"The want of regular employment causes total neglect of education to the children; and I should be certainly within bounds by saying that not one grown male or female in fifty can read, and the farm-servants in this part are as ignorant as the miners."

Of this, Mr. Franks, the Commissioner, gives ample evidence from the mouths of the children. Morgan Lewis, 9 years old:

"I have never been at any day school; am sent to Mr. Jones's Sunday school to learn the Welsh letters; can't say I know them yet. I do not know what you mean by catechism, or religion; never was told about God. The sky is up above, and no one ever told me about Jesus Christ; cannot say what he is."

Sophia, the sister of Morgan, says:

"Mr. Jones tells us that Jesus is our Lord, but does not know what he means by our Lord, nor who is God. There may be commandments, but I never heard of any."

From such fruits the miserable poverty of the *means* of education will be easily guessed.

Reporting on Shropshire, Dr. Mitchell says:—

"The Sunday-school has the merit of bringing the children together, before Divine service, and securing their attendance in church or chapel; and a few of the pupils may learn to read; but that is all that a Sunday-school can effect in Staffordshire or anywhere else. Evening schools have been established at Bilston, and some others, to which the children may be sent; but it is considered a doubtful experiment. The children, who come home fatigued from the mines, get drowsy by the fire, and feel reluctant to go out."

These opinions are confirmed by the evidence of the whole kingdom. Day or evening schools have, under the present system, no place in the education of collier children. That the schools themselves afford education efficient neither in quality nor quantity, we find incontestable proof wherever the Assistant Commissioners investigated this important branch of inquiry. Not only are day schools unsupported; not only are the working children incapacitated from attending them, but they are useless when attended. In the first place, in day schools, where they exist, the master is often a dilapidated

collier, whose bodily infirmity is considered in Northumberland the strongest qualification for the office.

"His education and mental training have not been of that kind to raise him above the prejudices, passions, and moral feebleness (if the expression will be allowed) of his own class. From such a man, therefore, little improvement in the tone of thought and feeling of pitmen, can be expected. He cannot, because he does not know them, nor feel them himself, be expected to infuse into the minds of his pupils, those new feelings and principles which are essential for the improvement of the class of labourers. He is actuated but by one motive, that is, to eke out from his occupation so much as will support him, and after having heard, amidst the din and noise of his school, the boys sing over their lessons in reading, and administered a sufficient number of cuffs for past, present, or future, or real or imaginary wrongs, his scholars roar out a hymn, and are dismissed. His curriculum of instruction is reading, writing, arithmetic, and sewing, (girls being admitted to his school, in many instances, as well as boys,) a female of course superintends the sewing department. His scale of charges is a graduated one, and ranges from twopence to sixpence per week, the higher scale embracing every branch of education taught; the lower one reading only. The books employed, are the ordinary spelling book, the New Testament, and any work on arithmetic."

This account, which we extract from the valuable evidence of Wm. Morison, Esq., in Mr. Leifchild's Report, will serve as a perfect specimen of the character of day schools in the great bulk of collier villages. The existing means of education, enjoyed by the children of the mines, may be summed up in Sunday schools. That they likewise are inefficient for education, the result amply proves. Neither can there be a question that as regards secular knowledge and the rudiments of general education, they *ought* to be inefficient. The Sunday was no more designed for the exercise of the mechanism of the mind, than for the physical labour of life. Sunday writing, spelling, and ciphering schools are atrocities, to be tolerated as little by the philanthropist as the Christian. So long as children are employed at ages and for hours, such as wholly to incapacitate them for receiving instruction during the week (and this is well attested), it is obvious that the temptation is strong to alloy the Sabbath schools with a portion of secular teaching, for otherwise the elements of education were untaught.

"The Sunday schools (says Mr. Fletcher), unhappily, instead of being merely an ecclesiastical organization for the religious instruc-

tion for the young, are regarded as 'the schools,' and are mainly relied upon for secular instruction."

In many districts even this modicum of schooling is not profited by. In Dr. Mitchell's district of Staffordshire, the Rev. George Marsland and the Rev. Robert Leake, of West Bromwich, state,

"The greater part of the children, on going to labour, neglect the Sunday school altogether."

The instruction confined to one day in seven must almost necessarily be a series of beginnings; the child generally forgetting all he learnt in the interval between Sunday and Sunday. It nowise surprises us to find, that with the entire labour of *preparing*, as well as *informing*, the mind of the child upon their hands, to be condensed into a few hours once a week, the Sabbath teachers betake themselves to the resource of loading the memory alone, shrinking from the almost impossible task of educating the understanding.

Mr. Symons says—

"On being questioned as to the meaning of what they read, they stare with astonishment."

"In nineteen out of every twenty instances, the mind of the child is as much uninformed even after a couple of years' tuition as before it went to school. The notion is inveterately implanted in the mind of the great majority of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, that comprehension is no necessary part of instruction; and others seem to imagine it a matter of intuition, and are astonished that a child has not learnt what it has never had the means of understanding. 'Have I not been preaching justification by faith, by the law of Moses, and setting forth the essence of the Godhead, this very morning?' exclaimed a Calvinist preacher and schoolmaster in a paroxysm of amazement at finding that a group of scholars could not explain who or what Christ was! The chances against a child are very great; first, there are the chances that his teachers are themselves ignorant of what they ought to teach, which especially happens among the amateur instructors in Sunday schools; secondly, there is the chance that the teacher does not, or cannot, put himself in the position of a child, to feel its ignorances and supply them; thirdly, there is the chance that where apt instruction is given the child's attention is not gained, and which the elliptical system of questioning is so admirably adapted to secure. It therefore follows that, in the vast majority of cases, child and teacher jog on in the established ruts, so ingeniously devised to avoid the exercise of mind, and everything in the shape of instruction, save the mere mechanism of memory. From the

table of day schools, it appears that, according even to the return of the schoolmasters themselves, out of 1891 children at school in different villages, not near one-half can read the Testament, and little above one-third can write. The synoptical table of fifty collieries, taken at random, gives the following result as respects writing:—Total number of boys, 1640; number who can write their names, 350. In seven pits there are 172 girls, of whom twelve only can write: in fact education, in the proper sense of the word, scarcely exists at all among collier children."

Mr. Fellows bears similar testimony in Derbyshire:—

"If I called a child to read, and afterwards asked the meaning of any particular word therein, in almost every case I have found them at a loss; for instance, I asked a very good reader what was the meaning of the word *weary*, he could not tell; I then appealed to the whole class; at last a boy said he knew—it was a lad who wore his clothes out."

The Reverend Wm. F. Walker, curate of St. James's, Oldham, thus sums up the matter:—

"As a means of religious instruction it is obvious, however, that schools, composed as these are, must be imperfect in the extreme. As secular schools, they do harm by lowering the people's estimation of the value of secular instruction, and making them contented with less than they ought to have. Being gratuitous, too, Sunday school instruction is not valued so much as if it were paid for; and the interval of six days between each day of instruction delays the attainment of any obviously good result. In many schools the teachers will attend by rotation only once a month, and each may be carrying on a separate system. If the Sunday schools, however, insufficient as they are, were not to supply something, there is not sufficient desire for instruction among the people to make a demand for teachers at any time, or in any form, during the week. In the Sunday schools of the dissenting congregations the same deficiencies exist, and the ministers of those congregations neither do nor can pay much attention to them."

Next to the inefficiency of the schools comes the indifference of the parent, which ranks among the chief causes of ignorance.

Mr. Morison, in the Northumberland Report, well observes:

"The absence of education in the parents is a certain guarantee of its great imperfection in the children. In the present generation, therefore, we see the imperfect ripening of the first seeds of education sown in a barren soil. It would hence be vain to look in this day for the hearty co-operation of the parents in the education of the children."

The Commissioner also reports in the same district that,—

"The loss too of scholastic instruction is in nowise counter-balanced by careful domestic training; for the parents, mostly destitute of information and self-government, are incapable of directing the minds of their children. Themselves swayed by the impulses of wayward feelings, their indulgence or correction of their offspring is alike capricious. Immoderate indulgences are usually but preludes to immoderate chastisement, and both tend to the development of frowardness in childhood, and rebellion in maturity."

"Messrs. Richard Pemberton and Smith, owners of the Monkwearmouth colliery, believe that the parents do not take sufficient care of the children. There is plenty of time for them to learn, if parents would take care of their education."

"Mr. John Jones, agent of the Rock colliery, in the parish of Bedwelty, in Monmouthshire, says: 'There is but one small school in the populous village of Blackwood (population 1500); average attendance, ten to twenty. I do not think it would be of much use even establishing a free school here, *for the people, I fear, would scarcely think it worth while to send their children there.*'"

The Commissioner elsewhere adds: "They estimate even one penny per week as more than education is worth."

In addition to the remissness of the parent, the independence of the child operates in favour of his ignorance. This arises from the contribution of his labour to the family income. The child soon feels his importance, and successfully resists control. Mr. Herbert Jones reports that in North Wales:

"It is observed that the children no sooner go to work than parental authority begins to cease; the children soon form an estimate of their own value, and find how much the family depends on their earnings. Children thus emancipating themselves are too much left to their own guidance; none, or at most only here and there one or two, will attend a night school, should there by chance be one."

Hence, infant labour not only engrosses the child's time for education, but it encourages his natural inclination to resist it. This infant independence is, moreover, the source of precocious immoralities, and the forerunner of a sceptical and turbulent spirit in after life,—thus cradled in the rebellion of childhood. The increase of machinery, by displacing adult, and employing child labour, has unavoidably tended to aggravate the same evil in our large town populations; and it is a strongly corroborative fact, that three-fourths of the chartism and socialism of the day centres among youths who have emerged recently from the strongholds of this indepen-

dency of childhood. As regards the parent, the preference of the gain to be derived from the child's labour over the desire to educate him, is at the root of the evil. Nor will the appreciation of knowledge begin, till the temptation of gain ceases. They who are the most in need of education are precisely those who are least likely to obtain it, so long as it is left to the impulses of the parent. Mr. Fletcher well observes, that—

“It is not to be supposed that parents who employ their own children will be more scrupulous about their being set early to labour, than if they sold their services to others; and, accordingly, *the most improvident are pointed out by their fellow-workmen as those who have least mercy on the infantile capacities of their offspring.* ‘There are drunken blackguards,’ states one of these, ‘that would not mind at what age they took them. *They went themselves into the coalpit so early, that they do not know their own duties.*’ If there be justice for colliers’ children, as for factory children, God send it. ‘Certain parents bring children into the pit earlier than they did,’ and that if they can ‘merely sit down and keep the rats from their dinners, they will bring them down.’ I am inclined, however, to think that, though the worst characters unhesitatingly use up the whole existence of their children, from infancy, in labour, there is, in the best, a steady desire to free them during their early years, could they thereby ensure their getting any religious and useful instruction, through which they might enjoy a mental as well as a bodily existence.”

If so, is it not doubly criminal to neglect affording such persons the means of gratifying their laudable wish? Such instances, however, do not constitute the rule. In nine out of ten cases the adult colliers are too ignorant to appreciate education. It must be enforced on them; for it cannot be too often repeated, that ignorance is a malady which conceals itself from him who labours under it. It cannot, therefore, be justifiably left to cure itself.

If the parents cannot be trusted with the duty of education, still less can the masters. Mr. Symons observes:—

“The worst of all the many adversities which beset the mental and moral progress of the working classes, is, unquestionably, the indifference towards them of the higher orders of society. I have had many opportunities of witnessing its existence and its effects, in the course of this inquiry. It is a gigantic evil, prolific in ignorance, inhumanities, and hatred between classes whose interests are common, and on whose concord the peace and prosperity of society are based. It is a fearful thing to see how exempt the employers of labour often hold themselves from moral obligations of every description towards those from whose industry their own fortunes

spring. Even they who contribute at all to the education or moral improvement of their workmen, do so, in nineteen cases out of twenty, merely by money, and without personal pains or superintendence of their own. These vicarious benevolences are seldom availing."

Of a mass of evidence illustrative of the same negligence on the part of coal owners, Mr. Leifchild says:—

"I have excluded some testimonies merely vituperative of the tardiness of principals and agents in addressing themselves to the promotion of efficient and extended scholastic instruction; for such tardiness is sufficiently evident from the simple statement of the facts detailed above.....Even where employers and employed are sensible of the advantages of instruction, differences regarding the channels and modes by which it should be imparted are sometimes permitted to mature into insuperable obstacles. Schools and school-masters have been declared to be lamentably insufficient; and the supply of education corresponds in quantity and quality to the demand. The domestic management of children is rather perilous than profitable; and parental exemplars are more commonly to be shunned than imitated. The few exceptions to the paucity and poverty of secular schools are of very recent origin, and must be regarded rather as isolated efforts, than as experiments precursory to the extensive adoption of the systems."

Admirably put is the following contrast between the comparative zeal of the master, where *money*, and where *minds* are concerned,—where the worldly wealth of the owner and the everlasting welfare of the labourer are respectively in the scales:—

"Perhaps few parts of our country exhibit in such immediate and striking juxtaposition the wide disparity between commercial and educational enterprise. In the former, difficulties exist only to be overcome,—in the latter, only to be looked at and lamented. Enterprises the most hazardous and the most extensive, sometimes bounded by but dim prospects of success, are commenced, and pertinaciously conducted with untiring energy, and nearly limitless expenditure, while the contrast presented by the tardy progress of education is indeed depressing.

"Remarkable instances of this contrariety in the same colliery might be adduced, as at Monkwearmouth pit, with its shaft of nearly sixteen hundred feet in perpendicular depth, where no school was established, and where the morals of the boys were acknowledged by the owners and agents themselves to be low, and by neighbours affirmed to be grievously low.

"No vigilance is employed to ensure the presence of pupils, and no inspection to test their progress. Their presence is left to the

spontaneous desires of their parents—their progress to the spontaneous exertions of the teacher.”

The Rev. Wm. Williams, rector of Halkin, North Wales, among numerous witnesses, attests the same fact in that district:—

“Is there any pains taken by masters, parents, or others in their moral training?” “I am disposed to doubt it. With the exception of a little parental authority which may be exercised over them, there is, I think, none. I am not aware that masters or agents interest themselves in the moral welfare of the boys they employ.”

The vital need of a closer union between men and masters, is vividly testified throughout these reports. A host of humanizing and kindly influences are in the hands of employers; and yet how rarely are they exerted,—and how seldom are the masters aware of their own interest in the sound education and concomitant orderly conduct of their workmen! Charles Conway, Esq. has been the managing partner of the Pontrhydyrin tin works, in South Wales, for twenty years.

“I have (he says) no doubt whatever, generally speaking, that the best informed persons are the best conducted. There are, of course, exceptions. If one man is elevated by better opportunities of acquiring knowledge, or by a closer attention to self-education, there is a chance, when the masses are so ill provided with education, that he should have an undue influence. His knowledge is not sufficiently extensive to enable him to correct his own vanity, and the elevation to which he is raised by his compeers is apt to make him a demagogue. *I think much of this arises from the want of more mixing of the classes in society*—the employers and the employed. *The line of demarcation at present kept up is so rigid, that their interests are supposed to be incompatible.* Elevate the general mass, however, by a better system of instruction, and the demagogue is reduced to his proper level.

“Workmen almost invariably stick together,* right or wrong;—they are always suspicious of any interference of the employers. I am not aware of a single person connected with these works being joined to any chartist societies during the late movements; yet I cannot conceal from myself, that they very considerably sympathised with the chartists.

Mr. Tremenhoe,* the school inspector, gives a painful instance of this deep distrust at Norwich, where Mr. Geary, a large employer of labour, has expended much pains and money in establishing means for the instruction, amusement,

* See his interesting report on the schools of Norfolk, to the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education, 1840-41.

and exercise of his work-people. His efforts have, in great measure, failed, because the people cannot bring themselves to believe that anything emanating from the master-class can be honestly meant to benefit workmen. Nothing can break down this pernicious distrust, but the zealous, hearty, and untiring tender of sympathy and kindly effort. The repulses met with are only additional evidences of the need for perseverance in the same course.

Proportioned to the neglect of the minds of workmen by their masters, is the necessity for government interference. If it is not the masters' business, it is clearly society's business, that the people, who are the great vitals of the community, should be morally healthful. It is useless to assert the fact, that it is the business of the employer to educate the employed. Very true; but has he done it, and will he do it? Let Mr. Emmett, "principal" of collieries near Halifax, answer:—

"He knows nothing of their moral condition; does not know whether they attend Sunday schools, or a place of worship; he knows what the men are, but he is not bound to tell, because he may please himself about that; when I come over I may find out myself, if I can find them; he does not hold himself responsible for anything that occurs with regard to the boys; if one falls sick, his collier looks after another, without any reference to him; all he has to do is to pay the men for the coals they get; he has no damp, therefore he has no occasion to provide his men with safety-lamps; he looks after the gear and engine himself; he has no regulation with respect to the number of men or boys that come up or go down together, but he takes care that the ropes are sufficiently strong to bear two persons; has never met with an accident yet, except a lad having a bit of a squeeze, now and then, which he does not call an accident; he does not know whether the nature of the work is calculated to deform the lads or not; I had better ask the doctor about that; has no objection for his evidence to go before the board.

(Signed)

"GEORGE EMMET, Principal."

The committee of Yorkshire coal masters, which consisted of about fifteen of the most respectable owners in the county, evinced a different spirit. In their report on the subject of the enquiry they say:—

"To this great and indispensable work (a system of sound intellectual instruction), without which all other measures would be vain, they would earnestly claim the attention of parliament, and they doubt not that the coal owners would lend their utmost efforts to secure the efficient working of so desirable an object. In the mean time, they would recommend the adoption, by the whole

body of coal owners, of such measures as are within their power ; and, amongst the first, they would point to the exclusion of females from being employed underground, and children under eight years of age. These, which are the greatest abuses, they believe it is in the power of the coal owners, if they are unanimous, to put an end to.

(Signed)

“THOMAS WILSON, Chairman.”

Mr. Wilson himself, however, in his evidence as an individual coal owner, who employed large numbers of colliers, states, as we have above said, that coal masters cannot enforce the adoption of obnoxious improvements in their own collieries. Moreover, the small pits, where most of the abuses centre, would not be bound by any such regulations, which, even in the best cases, the masters, unaided by penalties, obviously and avowedly have not the means of enforcing in mines out of sight, and into which not one-twentieth of the proprietors ever enter. Their “recommendations” would be perfectly impotent.

Besides, what is our experience of the past? Generation after generation of heathen ignorance has arisen, passing away, unheeded, to the grave, under the eyes of these very men who now ask to be the dispensers of a trust which it has been their habit, for centuries, to neglect!

The establishment of efficient schools, by adequate grants, and the compulsory attendance of mining children at them, appear to be the main means of meeting the evil.

The Rev. Mr. Collins, an experienced clergyman, of Ossett, Yorkshire, says:—

“I decidedly think that the Factory Act ought to provide that education should be obligatory on the parents *before* they come into the hands of the employers at all, and that this should be extended to collieries. A certificate should be required of a certain amount of education—say the power, at least, to read a plain chapter in the Epistle of St. John; this would be enough to begin with. This certificate should be made a *sine quâ non* to employment; it would do vastly more for education than the present system of two hours a-day; it would give a strong motive to parents to educate their children earlier, and it would give a stimulus to infant schools. The master and the parents would both have an incentive to educate. The former could not otherwise get workmen, nor the latter wages; this would touch the parents, who are least disposed to educate through ignorance themselves. I had occasion to give prizes of Bibles to my Sunday school children, and I found that the youngest children carried off nearly all the prizes, and not the older ones, whom I wished to have them that they

might have their Bibles to take with them from the school. I found the cause was, that usually the younger ones were those who were having education in day schools, and that the elder ones were solely dependant on the Sunday school. Sunday school instruction, even in the hands of a good teacher, must be an inefficient thing. There is in the course of eight weeks as much instruction given in a day school, even in point of number of days, as in a whole year in Sunday schools; add to this the longer period occupied each day in instruction in the day schools, and then the constant repetition of education in the day school, whereas in Sunday schools they have six days' interval for forgetting what they learn. The elder ones are frequently disheartened, moreover, by finding the little boys getting a-head of them, whilst they are perhaps unable to read. Education will never be properly diffused until it be made obligatory, because that part of the people who want it most care nothing about it. I have spoken to several manufacturers on the subject of compelling education before the children are employed, and I found many of them in favour of such a plan. I consider it would in every way dispose the manufacturer in favour of it."

The plan of imposing penalties on the coal master who receives a child into his employment who has not gone through certain terms of schooling, has been tried, we believe, in England, at one or two isolated factories, and, as we learn, with vast success.* In all these cases the means of education are of course first found.

Dr. Headlam, an eminent physician and a magistrate, of Newcastle, makes the following noteworthy statements:—

"As to education and morals, the colliery children suffer greatly

* The Messrs. Thomson, calico printers, of Clitheroe, were among the first to adopt the system of an educational qualification for employment. It is gratifying to find by the following letter from their manager to one of the partners (obligingly communicated to us by him), that the system succeeds, and is maintained in full vigour:—

"Primrose, Jan. 2, 1843.

"Dear Sir,—I am in receipt of your esteemed favour of the 30th ult., and in reply to your inquiries respecting the regulations with regard to education, I beg to say that they have invariably been adhered to, and we find the system works admirably, as it causes the people to pay more attention to the education of their children, and produces a superior class of workmen. The only alteration we have made is in the higher and more skilful branches of the business—such as designing, putting on, engraving, and cutting. We now require the apprentices in these branches to practice six months at lineal drawing previous to being indentured; this is in addition to the learning required by our printed rules; the six months is not reckoned as a part of their apprenticeship, nor do they receive any wages for it, as we consider it is only qualifying them for their business. This is only done where the boy has had no previous practice in drawing; by this means we find out what branch the boy is best suited for; if he appears clever at drawing we take him for drawing or putting on, and if he turns out quite a dunce, we put him to other work requiring little skill."

from want of a regular system of education. *The only way of doing it is, that the owners should give every facility for education. Thinks it would be an admirable arrangement if no boy were receivable into a colliery before he could read and write.* Employers might stringently refuse to employ any at a certain age, say twelve or thirteen, who could not read and write."

"At Wolverhampton, the Rev. S. Webb and Rev. W. J. Skidmore, state that, 'Education, in the intervals of labour, is not likely to be very beneficial; nor will the mental or physical condition of the children be much improved until their earlier days are entirely devoted to instruction.'

Mr. Franks, the Commissioner, states:—

"That a restriction of the age at which children should be allowed to labour in the mines and works should be fixed, and young girls altogether excluded from such labour; and together with such measures that an educational qualification to labour should be established throughout the mining and manufacturing district of South Wales and Monmouthshire."

"The Rev. W. Bruce Cunningham, minister of Prestonpans, speaks the opinion of hundreds of others in saying, 'The country will be inevitably ruined unless some steps be taken by the Legislature for securing a full education to the children of the working classes; the landed proprietors should know this.'"

Mr. Higgitt, steward to the Tinsley Park Pits, Yorkshire, near Sheffield,

"Thinks that the children ought to be made to come educated to the master, and that he ought to look after their morals afterwards. Thinks there would be no injury to the trade to prevent their working till eleven years old."

"In reply to the query, up to what age children ought to be allowed to remain at school, most of the ministers of religion (in Staffordshire) mention twelve, thirteen, and fourteen; some more generally twelve to fourteen. One gentleman (Rev. Wm. Gordon, of West Bromwich,) says, 'Perhaps fourteen, but that can never be. If there is plenty of work, they cannot be spared; if none, they have not the heart to come starving and badly dressed to school.' The Rev. Thomas Hardy, a Wesleyan minister, of Dudley Road, Tipton, expresses his doubt of the possibility of keeping children at school so long as desirable, by saying, 'Up to ten, if practicable.' The Rev. Mr. Fletcher, of the Established Church, Bilston, seems to feel the great difficulty which there will be in this district in retaining children at school so long as desirable, but thinks 'a great benefit will be effected if poor children remained at school till they were ten years of age.' I entirely concur with those gentlemen (says Dr. Mitchell) who think that it is extremely

desirable that children should remain at school until from twelve to fourteen: but, at the same time, when I consider the poverty of the parents and the scarcity of boy labour in this district, and that it is *indispensable in the iron mines and thin-bed coal mines, for work which could not possibly be done by grown persons*, I fear that it would not be practicable to restrain boys of from ten to fourteen from going down into the mines. But if children could be kept at school till ten, which appears perfectly practicable, it would not impede the labour of the mines, *and would do the children the greatest good.*

How should we secure the *efficiency* of the secular and the essential purity and soundness of the religious education, of which a certain *quantity* only would be required? This is a question all friends of the people will ask. It is a question apart from the scope of this argument. It belongs to the topic of national education, and the question of how best to provide it. It is sufficient for our present purpose to assume that *it must be provided.*

The means being found, how shall legislation secure their availability to colliers? We believe Mr. Collins to have given in the above passages, reasons for enforcing education before labour begins, so amply confirmed, no less by the existing ignorances and negligences of the parents, than by the circumstances of labour itself, that it is unnecessary to dilate on the desirability of an educational qualification, as a *sine qua non* to employment. That this principle will eventually be found to combine requisites to a perfect system of national education, we entertain small doubt. In the mean time, the first point is to provide, that neither the age at which work begins, nor the number of hours to which it is protracted, may be such as to infringe on the period essential for adequate instruction, nor such as to incapacitate the mind of the child while working from its profitable pursuit.

Lord Ashley's Act (5 and 6 Vict. c. 99, s. 2), provides for this in one respect, by prohibiting the employment of all children under ten years of age. We fear that the necessities of the parent even under improved circumstances of trade, would render the observance of a longer period of inactivity next to impossible; and the evidence of some of the most humanely disposed, as well as experienced witnesses, attests the fact, that the child who begins work, say at nine or ten years old, will become adapted to it far more easily and beneficially to himself than one who begins work at thirteen or fourteen. A very large proportion of

the coal mines of the kingdom do not exceed forty inches in thickness of seam; in many of these it would not be possible to cut the galleries to a much greater height than this, consistently with the profit essential to make it worth while to work these seams. To abandon them would be to injure every industry dependent on coal, for its motive power, and to impoverish the thousands of families now deriving support from the thin coal pits. Moreover, it is sufficiently shown in the evidence, that children of ten years of age can work in pits not exceeding a yard in height with perfect impunity to health, where due hours of work, draining and ventilation, are properly attended to. Upon the whole it is difficult to controvert the view of the old collier who said,—

“If government keeps children out of the pits, they ought to provide something else for them to do. A child can’t be made a collier of who doesn’t begin before he is thirteen. It is not the age hurts them; it’s the long irregular hours they work.”

It appears to be admitted in fact, on all hands, that children must begin to work before thirteen years of age: but if they begin to work before that age, it is equally certain that their education cannot be previously finished. It would amount in nine cases out of ten, to that smattering which fosters conceit and engenders error; and seldom to the amount of knowledge which teaches a man to know himself, and estimate his relation to others and his true interest in life. On the other hand, it has been proved by a variety of witnesses, that any junction of daily education with daily work, is impossible in mines, and futile in factories.

Here is the resource.—

We quote from Mr. Kennedy’s Report on the Lancashire district; and a more important suggestion the whole Commission has not put forth:—

“It has been objected by persons who are well disposed to the education of the mining population, and who duly recognize the strong necessity for it, that it would be preferable to enforce the attendance of the collier children at schools *on alternate days*, rather than their attendance during portions of each working day. They state that the inconvenience of relays as peculiar to the coal mines would be, that in extensive mines much time would be lost in changing them: for example, a body of two hundred children might enter any factory and take their places within perhaps five minutes; whereas, in an ordinary mine, the distance from the pit-shaft to the place of work may be three hundred to four hundred yards, and in many mines half an hour’s time would be occupied in going there.

All the children cannot enter at once, but must descend by small numbers of three or four at a time; the operation of entering a factory is no appreciable expense, but every descent of the baskets is a positive expense to the proprietor, independently of the time lost. These difficulties have occasioned a suggestion of the following kind from Mr. Thomas Ashworth, the able agent of Lord Vernon, who is one of those who has turned his attention to the moral condition of the workpeople as well as the productiveness of their labour:—"No female," says he, "ought to be employed under ground, as it is a degradation to the sex; and boys ought not to be allowed to work under ground until they are ten years of age, and should be required to attend school previously, and then only three days of eight hours in each week until they are twelve years of age, after that age daily; and they should be required to attend a day school when not employed under ground, as very few colliers can either read or write."

"Benjamin Miller, underlooker to Mr. Woolley, at Staley Bridge:—How would two sets of waggoners under thirteen answer with day work?—Why, the expense of taking them up and down, and the loss of time in changing, would be very great; I don't think two sets for the day would answer; the consequence here would be that all under thirteen would be thrown out of the pits.

"How would it answer if the waggoners under thirteen were sent to school alternate days?—That would be better, a great deal; but Government should establish schools, and compel the children to attend them, for they will only get into mischief if they are left to themselves."

These excellent suggestions were embodied in Lord Ashley's first Bill, and we cannot but lament the rejection by the Upper House, of the plan of alternate days of labour and education. It appears to us to offer a beneficial means of combining the industrious occupation of children after ten years of age with adequate time for instruction, unimpeded by fatigue of body. We trust that this important suggestion will be unceasingly renewed. It is a manifest improvement on the system of Factory Act instruction; and one, which together with the requirement of preliminary education as a qualification for employment, will, we venture to believe, be found at least worthy of mature consideration.

The limitation of the hours of daily work is equally essential to the fitness of the mind for education.

Mr. William Bedford, a coal master at Drighlington, Yorkshire, says:—

"If the government wishes to regulate the hours pits work, I

believe they can do it no other way than by regulating the hours coals are drawn by the engine ; and nine hours ought to be allowed for pulling coals exclusive of meal-time, and pulling the men. Taking one with another, if this were done, no man or boy will remain in the pit longer than nine hours. Relays of boys would be very awkward. Many pits are drawn by horses, and they could not manage it all."

" I am confident, says Mr. Twibell, another coal master, at Barnsley, that children ought to be prevented from going into pits till ten years old. It has a bad effect on their minds, and tends to cripple their strength ; besides the men themselves depend at present too much on child labour, and are induced, by the leisure it affords them, to indulge in intemperate habits."

The limitation of labour is the more needed on account of the dull monotony, as well as toil of pit industry. It has been well observed that there is in it an absence of device,

"Furnishing no stimulus to the uneducated mind ; whilst the employment in iron manufactories, and many other mechanical callings, is calculated to excite an inquiring spirit, to exercise the observant faculties, sharpen the wits, and enlarge the comprehension."

Occupation so stupifying ought necessarily to be confined within the narrowest limits, for the sake of the minds, as well as bodies of those engaged in it.

The enforcement of these and the other provisions ought to be accomplished by inspection. Without it, all provisions will be evaded ; and the evil of a law violated with impunity, will be added to the abuses we shall fail in removing.

It is not indispensable for inspectors to descend pits ; they can see most of what they need see at the pit's mouth, where every child must pass twice a day. And there they can also ascertain without a single inquiry, by dint of eyesight alone, how long the pit works. Inspection however there must be, or the law will be a dead letter.

Such are among the chief of the regulations, which appear to us to be best adapted to open the road for a thoroughly adequate education of this benighted class of work people.

A sound religious and general education, is the best security for the observance of whatever provisions humanity requires ; without which we are convinced no effective amelioration will ever be achieved in the physical condition of the labourer, or security given to the peace and progress of society.

Degraded and dark as are the mining population, far be it

from us to deny the fruitfulness of the soil under due culture. The able and interesting account of the miners in the lead districts of Cornwall, by Dr. Barham, shows how near an approach to satisfactory morals and intelligence are compatible with pit labour. So long, however, as colliers are regarded as an inferior race and unworthy of benevolence, it is not to be expected that their capacities or qualities will invite cultivation. Mr. Wild, the chief constable at Oldham, gives the following picture of the state of feeling towards colliers:—

“It is certainly observable in the case of colliers that there is a great amount of rude callousness on the subject of accidents among them and their families; they are quite an uneducated set of people, who go to cockpits, and races, and fights; and many are gamblers and drinkers. In a day or two’s time, among such people, even their wives and children seem to have forgotten it. They will say at the time, ‘Oh, I am not a bit surprised, I expected it—I expected it;’ and it soon passes by. There are so many killed that it becomes quite customary to expect such things. The chiefest talk is just at the moment, until the body gets home, and then there is no more talk about it. People generally feel, ‘Oh, its only a collier!’ There would be more feeling a hundred times if a policeman were to kill a dog in the street. *In different neighbourhoods here there would be more bother and talk, is sure there would, about killing a dog than killing a collier; the colliers even amongst themselves say so; so that they learn which it is that is killed, that is all they think about it.*”

Mr. Franks makes the following excellent remarks in his Welsh Report:—

“It is much to be lamented that few or no efforts are made to facilitate a change in the habits of the manufacturing and mining population of South Wales. A little time and thought given to the welfare of the people would not only tend to wean them from the gross habits in which they indulge, but would produce an abundance of kindly feeling between the employer and the employed. It has been suggested that the establishment in mining or manufacturing districts of reading-rooms for the better sort, of decently-conducted coffee-rooms, with books, periodicals, &c., for the working man, together with familiar lectures on matters connected with the labour of each district, and this not conducted with too strict a hand, or under the imposing titles of Athenæum, Mechanics’ Institute, or Temperance Hall, but rather in an inviting and conciliatory spirit, than in the exclusive tone which too often mars the effect of such well-intended attempts; and in the villages a little more of wholesome incitement to excellence in the distri-

bution of small prizes for the best cottage, the best garden, &c., would be productive of immense good ; nor can these things be done with half the efficacy by others as by those who are resident amongst the people themselves. A personal interest in the people, and the distribution of but a small fund in each district to the humble purposes alluded to, would invite the labourer from the vulgar line he now treads in. As matters stand at this moment, in the largest manufacturing town (Merthyr Tydvil), the working man after labour has no resort but the beer-shop ; his boy accompanies him, his daughter often passes the evening there. It is unnecessary to pursue this further. It is not intended to be inferred that the collier, or mining, or manufacturing population is to be changed by one sudden movement ; but it is surely a source of deep regret that a small portion of the enormous wealth of the land, and some of the influence of large proprietors, should not be applied to the improvement of the moral and educational condition of its inhabitants—the productive sources of that wealth.”

There are materials enough to work upon. We might extract many such evidences as the following.

Even in the Vandal land of Lancashire, John Gordon, a collier, says:—

“It may be that a great portion of the colliers do not know the value of instruction, and therefore would not, even in good times, avail themselves of the opportunity to give their children time and schooling. * * * A man with understanding knows how to govern himself, a man without understanding doesn't.”

In Yorkshire, notwithstanding their gross ignorance and manifold vices, we find the Commissioner thus speaking:—

“I would especially recommend to your notice the resolution of above 350 colliers themselves. After a long discussion of the whole subject, passed in the following words, by the whole body, except five whose hands were held up for a counter resolution:— ‘That the employment of girls in pits is highly injurious to their morals ; that it is not proper work for females, and that is a scandalous practice.’

“When it is considered that many of the men who voted for the resolution, are themselves reaping money from the practice they condemned, it is an evidence of their sincerity and good feeling, highly creditable to themselves, that when called on for their deliberate opinion, they would not call that right which they felt to be wrong. Of all my experience with the working classes, I never enjoyed a more pleasing one than was afforded by the assemblage of colliers where this resolution was passed. The earnestness, honesty, and good order, with which each question put was discussed by them, the prompt condemnation of whatever was not

according to their belief of the truth, gave ample evidence that, whatever may be their ignorance and its contingent vices, there is a solid material of honest-heartedness among colliers which commends their hard condition, and that of their children, most forcibly to the kindly and active attention of the legislature."

In the forest of Dean,

"Notwithstanding all hindrances, the leaven of better principles is gradually working through the mass; and the old people represent the change in morals and manners, within the last thirty years, as truly thankworthy."

In Barnsley one of the established clergymen makes the following fearful statement:—

"At present I have no means of getting at them to pay them pastoral visits, though there are *many in a state of heathenism around us*; owing to their being in the pits all day, and being tired at night. I have adopted, however, a system of cottage lectures, held in the houses of cottagers once a-week, which are well attended, and prove very useful in reaching a class who are not in the habit of coming to church. Few colliers' children attend them. They are chiefly weavers, or their wives and families."

The real truth is, that colliers are a race who have hitherto lived under the ban of human sympathies, discarded and apart from all civilised, and kindly influences.

We have done little to gain the hearts of any class of work people; least of all of those who most need benevolence. Yet without gaining their hearts, we shall assail their vices and ignorances with small effect; and abuses, envyings, distrust, disaffection, and the whole host of passions, will continue to corrode the life-springs of society; and obstruct every tendency to physical, moral, or religious, progress.

To the Report on Mines has succeeded a voluminous mass of information on the condition of youths, and girls, in a variety of trades, not protected by the Factory Act. Its very recent appearance prevents our giving any detailed statement of its contents. In one word, we pronounce their character to be *appalling*. That so much suffering, ignorance, precocious crime, and early death, should exist among so large a portion of our labouring youth, will not fail to arouse whatever is Christian in the land. The most interesting details, as well as the most painful pictures, are those drawn by the gentlemen who inspected the print-fields of Lancashire, the milliners of London, and the cutlers of Sheffield. We borrow from the latter the following extracts:

"I believe," says Mr. Symons, "the vice prevalent among children, and especially among the class who intervene between childhood and manhood, is materially aggravated in Sheffield, by that system of letting out children to individual workmen, whether apprenticed or not, and rendering them independent of parental control, at an age when it is most needed. It removes moral subordination, gives independence without the means of self-government, and surrenders the child up a victim to his uninformed mind and undisciplined passions. Both as regards habits, hours, education, and religious instruction, children are their own masters at twelve years of age, in the generality of instances, throughout the industrial community. Socialism has been rife at Sheffield; and this, added to the prevailing system of infant independence, has peculiarly corrupted that most influential class, who are from thirteen to twenty years old; and which is peculiarly prone to imbibe errors agreeable to the passions, and which mainly biasses and moulds the younger ones who, invariably follow the elder youths as standards of opinion and models of manliness. I regard this as by far the most debased and debasing class in Sheffield. * * * Habits of drinking begin at an early age; and the evidence might have been doubled which attests the early commencement of sexual and promiscuous intercourse among boys and girls. Their habit of frequenting beer shops together is sufficient proof of the fact."

Mr. Raynor, the superintendent of police, deposes that—

"Lads, from twelve to fourteen years of age, constantly frequent beer houses, and have, even at that age, their girls with them; who often incite them to commit petty thefts. Girls begin prostitution as early as twelve or thirteen years of age. * * * Promiscuous intercourse among the sexes, gambling at the game called pinch, and drinking, *are their prevailing habits.*"

Another policeman swears that—

"There are many beer shops which are frequented by boys only. I should say they begin to go to beer shops as early as thirteen years of age."

The evidence of the clergy of the different parishes, and a variety of other witnesses, even exceed the above testimony to the amount of this horrible and growing depravity. An insurrection of no ordinary character was discovered at the eve of its maturity, chiefly devised by boys and lads; and immense quantities of hand grenades, and weapons of various kinds, were found. Education is at the lowest ebb. The average duration of the stay of each child at school does not exceed nine months; and but a portion ever go at all. We must, however, drop the curtain for the present, upon this

fearful picture: one which, we may truly say with a clergyman of Sheffield, "lies in gloom, shadows and darkness resting on it." Vice in every form seems "rife and rampant;" and were it not for the relief we find in anticipating better things, when another generation shall have occupied the scene of the present, the view would be, indeed, "insupportable."

Our readers will have observed that we have confined ourselves, almost exclusively, to the development of the enormous evils which result from the want of moral and religious cultivation, among the poorer classes. To the remedies to that evil we have scarcely adverted; partly because of the exceeding difficulty of the subject, but chiefly because we are satisfied that the remedy must come from the Catholic Church, and that it is, consequently, from the Church that all suggestions ought to proceed. We trust, however, that our venerable prelates in their united wisdom,—or should there be any difficulty in their joint action, each in their respective dioceses,—will take the necessary steps for procuring the means of stemming this threatening danger. And, we venture to suggest that the first step to be taken should be to get together accurate statements of the extent of the wants of the Catholics of their respective dioceses, as to education and religious instruction; and we are quite satisfied that, when such statements are accumulated and urged upon the executive government, with that weight and influence which the Catholic Church must possess, no government can resist the appeal; and that our venerable prelates cannot fail in obtaining the UNFETTERED command of such temporal means as would, under the blessing of Providence, be sufficient, in their hands, to stop the progress of infidelity; which, if unchecked, threatens to overtake an existing generation with anarchy and ruin. It is in accordance with the views we have just stated, that we have thought it right to draw the attention of our Catholic readers to the details contained in this paper, which, interesting as they are, would in our opinion be found far less important than those which would result from the careful investigation of the actual condition of the Catholic population, in the dense masses of our manufacturing districts.

ART. VI.—*A compendious Ecclesiastical History, from the earliest period to the present time.* By the Rev. William Palmer, M.A. of Worcester College, Oxford. London: 1840. *A Treatise on the Church of Christ, &c.* By the same. Third edition. London: 1842.

SEVERAL papers in our preceding numbers having been devoted to Mr. Palmer, it may be necessary to state our reasons for returning to him once more. Were he as distinguished for the qualities which give weight to religious controversy, as he is for his advanced post among the defenders of Anglicanism, we could simply say to our readers, that on the ecclesiastical history of Ireland Mr. Palmer had broached some strange opinions; that these opinions had been hitherto unnoticed, and that we deemed it our duty to refute them. But after the exposures already made of his errors, both in history and in theology, in questions of fact and of argument, in tracing the progress of the English schism, and in objecting against Catholic doctrine,—the utility of further refutation may, to many, appear questionable. We may prove, indeed, that in his notices of Irish history, his assertions are sometimes without proof, and often against evidence; that his censures are intemperate and calumnious, and that his contempt for the Catholic Church of Ireland would be intolerable, if it were not evidently affected; but what solid advantage can we gain by this labour? Can the authority of Mr. Palmer disturb the security of the Catholic, or give reasonable confidence to the conscience of the enquiring Anglican? Or do we expect to produce an effect upon those who continue to admire Mr. Palmer, notwithstanding the punishment inflicted on him in our May number, 1840?

We cannot indeed promise ourselves much success with his admirers. In his notices of the Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, they will find all those qualities united to which he owes his fame—zeal for his cause, unvarying boldness of assertion, and occasional dexterity in giving the air and tone of history to his own reflections upon a few isolated facts. We believe, too, that the convicting evidence supplied by preceding numbers is sufficient to destroy a character much less vulnerable than his; but we fear that Ireland, unfortunately, is a subject upon which the authority even of Mr. Palmer might be adopted by many without examination.

Some would not take the trouble of inquiry, when the history and character of the Irish Catholic alone are involved; others would adopt the opinions of Mr. Palmer, because they agree with long received and fondly cherished prejudices; and even those who already view him with distrust, might be startled by the confidence with which he appeals to Catholic writers in proof of his assertions. We shall therefore examine his opinions on our ancient doctrine and discipline,—his history of the rise and progress of the Reformation down to the death of Elizabeth,—and his calumnies on the memory of those men who, to his evident and deep mortification, preserved unbroken the chain of apostolical succession in the Catholic Church of Ireland.

The hostility of Mr. Palmer to the Catholics of Ireland is under many respects surprising, and, to a person unacquainted with the new system of Christian unity, utterly inexplicable. He appears to bring to the study of Irish history some qualities rarely united in any of the reverend gentlemen of his Church: for he is none of those who believe that nothing good can come from Ireland, nor does he appear to have strong prejudices against the faith professed by the overwhelming majority of the Irish people. His testimony to the ancient glory of the Catholic Church of Ireland is recorded with much apparent cordiality. "The apostolical labours of St. Patrick," he writes, "were rewarded by the conversion of Ireland. Palladius had been previously ordained to the same mission by Cœlestinus, bishop of Rome, but dying soon, was succeeded by St. Patrick, A. D. 432. The Gospel, indeed, had already some adherents in that country, but Christianity now became general, and for the next four or five centuries learning and religion shed a bright lustre on that remote island, when barbarism and ignorance prevailed over the rest of Europe."* The conversion of the Saxons he attributes "chiefly to several holy bishops and missionaries from Ireland,"† and at the close of the chapter from which these extracts are taken, he adds, "Christianity was now subduing the remnants of Paganism in England, and exciting there and in Ireland a spirit of apostolical zeal which disseminated the light of truth among many barbarous nations in the west of Europe. The Suevi, Boii, and Franks of Germany, were converted by St. Columbanus in the early part

* Palmer's Ecc. Hist. p. 71.

† Ibid. p. 72.

of the seventh century. St. Gallus became the apostle of Switzerland, St. Kilianus of the Eastern Franks, and St. Willibrod and his companions (who studied in Ireland) of Batavia, Friesland, and Westphalia. These holy missionaries were all natives of Ireland, except the last.* Other extracts we could give, but these, we think, sufficient for our purpose. The same apparently liberal appreciation of the sanctifying influences of the Catholic Church, and the same apparent sympathy with the heroism of her glorious saints, expressed in these extracts, are also manifested by Mr. Palmer in his notices of much more modern Catholics. In the chapters of his *Ecclesiastical History*, intitled "fruits of sanctity" in the Roman Churches, considerable justice is done to the merits and sanctity, not only of the holy men who lived and died in the Roman communion before the Council of Trent, but likewise of those who flourished long after that council. SS. Bernard and Anselm were "eminent saints."* Peter Lombard, Alexander de Hales, Bonaventure, Aquinas, and Scotus, were "all men of ardent piety." Nay, when the clouds of popish errors were gathering thick, and closing over the Church, "the abundant good works and excellent piety of Lawrence Justiniani were worthy the brightest days of the Church." It is not denied that all these eminent and holy men were humble believers in transubstantiation and in the supremacy of the pope, and steadfast advocates, both by word and example, of all the peculiar doctrines and practices of the Roman Church, such as they are professed and observed this day in the Catholic Church of Ireland. Even when these doctrines were receiving the solemn and unequivocal sanction of the Council of Trent, "they were announced in the Indies by the great missionary, Francis Xavier, during ten years of labour and success, almost unparalleled since the days of the Apostles." They were inculcated with all the energies of St. Charles Borromeo, "whose spirit of prayer and love of God gave to him remarkably the power of exciting and encouraging others to religion." They were embraced by 72,000 Calvinists, who, under the very eye of Beza, and in the sight of the cradle of the Reformation, could not resist "the disinterested spirit," the "conscientious firmness," and "the spirit of piety and meekness" of St. Francis of Sales; and finally, the creed and practice of the

* See for the marked passages, Palmer's *Ecc. Hist.* chap. 19 and 25.

Roman Church were enforced and observed, during every stage of his long and chequered life, by St. Vincent of Paul, and yet, in the words of Mr. Palmer, that "pious and profitable servant of God was called, at the advanced age of eighty-four, to his everlasting reward, amid the veneration and love of all men." These tributes to the sanctity of Catholic saints are offered by the Protestant hagiologist, not from any particular predilection, but on the broad principle universally applicable to Catholic virtue in every clime—that "it would argue a prejudiced and uncharitable mind to close our eyes on several bright examples of Christian holiness that have adorned the Roman communion in later ages, and refuse to recognise the impress of divine grace on lives adorned by *every virtue* which can flow from an ardent faith and charity."

If some Protestant minister of great talents, and of considerable influence with the members of the Anglican Church, were to step forth and propose, by a faithful history of Ireland, to dispel hostile bigotry and prejudice, what guarantee could we require for the faithful performance of his task, other than those involved in these extracts? Might we not confidently address him—You have allowed four or five centuries of glory unsurpassed to the ancient Church of Ireland; you have gratefully recorded her services in converting foreign nations, and in restoring the faith in England; you revere the virtues and canonize the memory of the saints to whom she prays; you cannot therefore deem it a crime in the Catholic priesthood to obey a hierarchy ascending, without interruption, to the golden age of Ireland;—you cannot stigmatize as criminal schismatics the prelates whose letters of ordination open to the humblest of their clergy free access to the shrines and altars of SS. Charles, Vincent and Francis of Sales;—*you* will not mock the miseries of a nation, nor call the penal enactments of the last three hundred years, judgments of an avenging God for disobedience to a law-established Church;—nor can you sanction that odious calumny, "the massacre in 1641 by Roman Catholics, in cold blood, of 150,000 Protestants;"* a calumny invented to justify the wholesale plunder of Catholic property, and perpetuated to silence the cries of justice, and exclude the descendants of the plundered from every civil right.

Yet, gentle reader, all this, and much more, does Mr.

* Ecc. Hist. p. 266.

Palmer. You must not judge him by his own professions, nor by the rules by which you judge of ordinary men. His new system of the Church begets a new system of ethics, and his new system of ethics a species of charity peculiar to himself. *He* conceives how the examples of Christian holiness on the continent can be adorned by *every virtue*, though he must deny them *pure* religion, virtue's nursing mother; and his charity, unlike that of ordinary mortals (which generally begins at home), seeks the objects of its complacency exclusively in distant ages and in foreign climes. It kindles with admiration at the ancient glory of the Isle of Saints, and at the recent splendour of continental Churches, but turns into zealot's fire against the modern Catholics of Ireland. Not content with exhibiting our persecuted forefathers as objects of God's heavy curse, paying, in their loss of property and in penal laws, the penalty of disbelief in the state religion, he ranks them with the heathen and the publican,* and consigns all, clergy and laity, to eternal perdition, precisely because we are in communion with the Churches of SS. Francis of Sales, Charles Borromeo, and Vincent of Paul, and profess that very faith which brought them happily to heaven, to receive there the reward "of every virtue which can flow from an ardent faith and charity."†

The ancient ecclesiastical history of Ireland is, perhaps, regarded by Mr. Palmer as an unexplored region, of which accounts the most extraordinary may be given, without fear of contradiction; or perhaps the labour of accurate and extensive research imposed upon the historian of the Universal Church did not leave time sufficient to examine the annals, and ascertain the doctrine and discipline, of the Catholic Church of Ireland. To the public it matters little whether the historian sin against the truth of history, by a deliberate perversion of facts, or by hazarding opinions upon facts of which he knows nothing. For the historian himself, indeed, it is a delicate and interesting point to measure and compare all the degrees in the ascending scale—from the dogmatism and hasty prejudice that decide questions, on which the wise and learned hesitate, up to the effrontery that deliberately affirms,

* Treatise on the Church, pp. 110 and 568, vol. i. second ed.

† Ecc. Hist. p. 305. Invincible ignorance of Elizabeth's right to found a Church by the sword *may* excuse the Irish Catholic, according to Palmer. We are all quite safe on that point. Our ignorance is, indeed, invincible.

without any proof, what is well known to be untrue. What precise place among faithless historians Mr. Palmer should hold, Mr. Palmer can best tell. Certain it is, that on the discipline of the ancient Irish Church he maintains opinions unsupported by the slightest proof, and scarcely reconcileable with his own recorded admissions. The law of ecclesiastical celibacy he allows to have been in force in the Latin Church at the time of St. Patrick's mission,* and yet in the same breath he asserts, "*that down to the twelfth century the Irish bishops and clergy were generally married.*" The remarks with which this assertion is prefaced leave no doubt of its meaning. He does not mean only, that married men, while their wives were yet living, were often ordained bishops and priests,—who, however, were obliged to the continence imposed on married clergy by the laws of the Latin Church. He gives us plainly to understand, that, down to the twelfth century, the liberty and practice of the Irish clergy, bishops and priests, were precisely the same as those of the clergy by law established in Ireland for the last three centuries. Notwithstanding the admission of one of our historians, we had always believed that, so far from being an exception to the Latin discipline of celibacy, the Irish clergy were, on the contrary, ever singularly remarkable for their strict observance of that discipline; that they established it in other countries, during the four or five centuries of their apostolical labours; and that even during the wreck of all order, political and religious,—during the long and bloody invasion of the Danes,—the discipline of celibacy had not been violated, at least to such a degree as to require the interposition of Church authority to restore it. It would be strange, indeed, that St. Patrick did not establish that discipline in his infant Church. Was he ignorant of the canons of councils, and of the decrees of popes, enforcing it? or must we suppose that he sacrificed to the weak virtue or untractable temper of his spiritual children, a law which should bring such blessings on his labours,—since, according to Mr. Palmer, it makes its observers "most happy, and enables them to devote themselves entirely to God." "The priest," says St. Celestine,—"from whom St. Patrick received his mission,—the priest should not be ignorant of his canons, nor do anything opposed to the rules of the fathers: the people must be taught, not followed."† St. Patrick was not ignorant of his canons, nor was

* Palmer, Eccl. Hist. p. 116.

† Epist. iii. ad Episcopos Calabriae et Apuliae.

it necessary to relax them. Never did any nation renounce more willingly than Ireland its vices and superstitions, or aspire at once with greater fervour to the full perfection of the Christian law. Monasteries rapidly arose in every quarter of the island,—proving by their number, by the liberality of their endowment, and by the almost incredible number of their inmates, the very highest esteem for the evangelical virtues. Accordingly, so far from finding the Irish clergy, bishops and priests, generally married, down to the twelfth century, we do not find, in our annals down to the twelfth century, one solitary instance of a married bishop or priest.* The canon of St. Patrick† adduced by Usher, proves that married men may have been sometimes ordained to the order of Ostiarius, and perhaps a higher, as was often the case in the Latin Church; but there is no example recorded: and if there were, the wife's "veiled head," the emblem of chastity in those ages, would appear to suggest what is clearly proved by the penitential canons of St. Columbanus‡ and of Cummian, that the discipline of the Irish Church was, in the obligation of continence, imposed on the married clergy, exactly conformable to the well known discipline of the Latin Church.

That there was no relaxation of this discipline during the long and terrible devastation of the Danes, appears from the most unexceptionable evidence. Both Lanfranc and St. Anselm (the former in 1081,§ the latter in 1095),|| had correspondence with Irish bishops and princes. They strongly urged the reformation of some ecclesiastical abuses, stated to have then existed in the Irish Church. Gillebert, the associate of the younger days of Anselm, and bishop of Limerick,

* Lanigan's Eccl. Hist. of Ireland, vol. iv. p. 365. To prove our assertion in the sense in which it is made, it will not suffice to adduce an example of an Irish priest, not separated "*quoad habitationem*" from his wife. St. Leo, Epis. ad Rustium Episcop. Narbon. c. iii., speaking of bishops and priests married before ordination, says, "*Unde ut de carnali fiat spirituale conjugium oportet eos nec dimittere uxores et quasi non habeant sic habere, quo et salva fiat charitas conjugiorum et cessent opera nuptiarum.*" The council of Arles, 2um anno 452, can. iii. "*Si quis clericus a gradu Diaconatus, in solatio suo mulierem præter aviam, matrem, sororem, filiam, neptem, vel conversam secum uxorem habere presumpsit, a communione alienus habeatur.*"

+ Lan. Eccl. Hist. p. 366. "*Et uxor ejus si non 'velato capite' ambula-verit,*" &c. &c.

‡ Can. xii. "*Si quis clericus vel superior gradus, qui uxorem habuit, et post honorem iterum eam cognoverit sciat se adulterium commississe,*" &c. &c. See Lan. vol. iv. p. 367; and for Cummian, vol. iv. p. 366.

§ Lan. vol. iv. p. 476.

|| Lan. vol. iv. pp. 13-18.

in his treatise, *De Statu Ecclesiastico*, addressed to all the bishops and priests of Ireland, exerted himself to effect a conformity of ecclesiastical discipline with the Roman Church, but neither in that treatise, nor in either of the national councils, held in 1111 and 1118,* under Gillebert himself and primate Celsus, nor in the letters of Lanfranc or of St. Anselm, is there the slightest indication of any difference of discipline on ecclesiastical celibacy between the Church of Ireland and the other members of the Latin Church. St. Bernard had, through St. Malachy, ample means of knowing our discipline; and, in his life of that prelate, enumerated and censured some ecclesiastical abuses, and severely reproved the vices of some of the clergy and people, but did not even hint at the marriage of the clergy,—a crime which St. Bernard certainly would not tolerate, had it existed. In the proceedings of the synod of Kells, in 1152,† there is not one word about the marriage of the clergy; and should Mr. Palmer desire to know whether there was any change in Irish discipline down to the Anglo-Norman invasion, we refer him to the testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis,‡—as honourable to the Irish Church as it is unimpeachable, because of the writer's well known prejudice and decided hostility to Ireland. It is true that in the life of St. Laurence O'Toole, archbishop of Dublin, we read of some incontinent ecclesiastics. But it was the lot of St. Laurence to fall upon evil days. He witnessed the humiliation of his country by foreign foes, and was obliged to repel from his Church, by ecclesiastical censures, the contagion of evil example, introduced in the train of the other evils of the conquest. In full council, assembled in Dublin, under archbishop Comin, immediate successor of St. Laurence, Allin O'Mulloy,§ the pious and learned bishop of Ferns, proved, without contradiction, that the law of ecclesiastical celibacy had been rigidly observed in Ireland, down to the arrival of some military chaplains of the Anglo-Norman adventurers. The Irish bishops and priests, therefore, were not generally married, down to the twelfth century. There is no proof of the marriage of any of them; and even were they married, they were bound by the laws of their Church to observe that discipline which makes men "most happy," and "enables them to devote themselves entirely to God."||

* Lan. vol. iv. pp. 37, 38.

† Lan. vol. iv. p. 323.

‡ Lan. vol. iv. p. 267.

§ Lan. vol. iv. p. 265.

|| Palmer, Eccl. Hist. p. 115.

The independence of the ancient Irish Church is of course maintained by Mr. Palmer. The Roman supremacy, he assures us, was not acknowledged until the synod of Kells, A.D. 1152. It was then that her liberties, quietly enjoyed for seven hundred years, were, without one murmur of remonstrance, surrendered into the hands of a papal legate, by the Irish Church, presenting, if we believe Mr. Palmer, in the obsequious denial of her faith, a wonderful contrast to the firmness with which she had been hitherto known to cling even to the minutest points of her discipline. It is not our intention to enter fully into the arguments by which this imaginary independence of the ancient Irish Church is overthrown. The contemporary annals of the British and the Continental Churches furnish clear acknowledgments of the supremacy of Rome; and so intimate was the connexion between those Churches and Ireland, that, disagreement upon such a vital question as the existence of a common supreme authority, was utterly impossible. The position of Ireland, as exhibited by Mr. Palmer himself, was too conspicuous, and her zeal too active, to allow her to teach without contradiction her own exemption from Rome's universally admitted jurisdiction. The Irishmen who were welcomed as apostles, and are still revered as patrons of several countries of Europe, would have been denounced as abettors of a pernicious heresy; the schools of Ireland would have been deserted; nor would the title conferred upon her by the gratitude of the Church* have been allowed, if the supremacy of Rome were not an article of the Irish creed. In our own annals, also, are found proofs of this doctrine,—though the course of the Irish Church was, of all others, little calculated to leave many internal evidences of the authority of Rome. That authority has been ever exercised principally in condemning heresies, in restoring ecclesiastical discipline, in stimulating the zeal of Christians. But in Ireland, for many ages, there was scarcely any necessity for such interference. Attaining at once, as we have seen, a proud eminence among Christian Churches for sanctity and Christian learning, she was blessed with children whose ardour for science was directed and made holy by charity. They were not puffed up by knowledge; there was among them no rash hand that, under the pretence of enlarging the bounds and of freeing the energies of the

* *Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum.*

human mind, presumed to move the landmarks of faith fixed by their fathers. Fervent without fanaticism, and learned without pride, so universally did they adhere to their first faith, that, notwithstanding the intellectual activity of so many monasteries, supplied with all the then known treasures of profane as well as of sacred learning, there is not even one instance recorded of the operation, in any matter of faith, of that canon of St. Patrick, by which recourse and obedience to Rome, in disputed questions, was expressly and sacredly enjoined.* "For," says St. Columbanus, in his letter to pope Boniface, "among the Irish there is no Jew, no heretic, no schismatic; but the Catholic faith preserved unshaken, such as it was delivered by the predecessors of your holiness. For we are bound, as I said, to the chair of Peter, and though Rome is great and renowned, yet with us she is great and renowned *only* on account of that chair. By the two apostles of Christ, you are become almost heavenly, and Rome is the head of the Churches of the world."† This testimony of one of the most distinguished ornaments of the Irish Church is the more remarkable, as it expressly excludes the merely ecclesiastical and the political origin of the papal power, and expressly asserts the divine right. We have in the paschal controversy an unequivocal declaration of the sense attached to the canon of St. Patrick by the Irish Church. Assembling in synod, by order of Pope Honorius, the Irish prelates, many of them contemporaries of the disciples of St. Patrick, expressly declare, that they had been *ordered* by their predecessors to follow, *without scruple*, the decisions of Rome;‡ and accordingly deputed persons to Rome, as "children to their mother," to learn the custom which it would be their duty to embrace. To these authorities we shall merely add, — the calm submission of the Irish Church to the spiritual claims of Gregory VII.§ and to the legatine authority of Gillebert, bishop of Limerick.|| Such frequent proof had the Irish given of devoted attachment to their creed and discipline, that they never would have allowed so momentous an article

* "Si quæ questiones in hac insulâ oriantur, ad sedem apostolicam referantur."—Lan. vol. ii. p. 391.

† Lan. vol. ii. p. 294.

‡ Cumman represents them as saying, "Decessores nostri *mandaverunt* per idoneos testes alios viventes, alios in pace dormientes, ut potiora et meliora probata a fonte baptismi nostri et sapientiæ, et successoribus apostolorum delata *sine scrupulo* humiliter sumeremus." Lan. vol. ii. p. 390.

§ Lan. vol. iii. p. 484.

|| Lan. vol. iii. p. 467.

as the supremacy of Rome to be inserted, without a murmur, into their profession of faith. Had they not previously acknowledged the pope, it would be as easy to persuade them that papal jurisdiction was not an usurpation, as it would be to persuade us that our forefathers have been taking the oath of supremacy for the last three hundred years.

We shall now examine Mr. Palmer's history of that period, when, in defence of her faith, Ireland showed a constancy as unshaken and as triumphant as her reception of the faith had been peaceful and fervent. In the sixteenth century, regal violence, often undisguised, sometimes thinly veiled by the crouching sycophancy of some corrupt ecclesiastics, sought to overthrow the Irish Church, to proscribe the Christian sacrifice, and to sever a communion consecrated and strengthened by the religious associations of eleven hundred years. The attempt has signally failed. The Reformers found in Ireland two races so different from each other, that they appear rather like two hostile nations than like fellow-subjects living in the same country under the same crown. They were of different origin, governed by different laws, and of political feelings and predilections so diametrically opposed, that in Elizabeth's wars they are found fighting on opposite sides, according to their different sense of political duty. The Anglo-Irish of all the great towns, and the inhabitants of the counties strictly called the English pale, continued faithful to the political sway of Elizabeth; but the event proves that they were not less determined Catholics than the native Irish, or than the *degenerate* (?) English families of Munster and of Connaught. Divided in politics, Ireland was still universally Catholic. We can easily conceive how, with feelings of pleasure, the Irish Catholic should look back to this period, when Irishmen unanimously spurned the royal creed, and when the Irish Church embraced with the alacrity and the martyr devotion of a young Church—the terrible trials reserved for her in these latter times. The arrival of St. Patrick was the dawning of that long and brilliant day, during which "learning and religion shed a bright lustre on Ireland." The Reformation ushered in another era of glory, but of far different character. For "four or five centuries after her conversion, the Irish Church sent forth her apostles to enlighten Northern Europe; for three centuries she was destined to reprove, silently by her constancy, and openly by her zeal, the weakness of her fallen

sisters. For four or five centuries, Catholics from every country in Europe were hospitably welcomed to her shores ; for three centuries, her own sons, scattered in exile, assured the Catholic Church that the storm which had laid the altars of St. Aidan and St. Columba* in the dust, was exhausting its vain fury against the parent Church of Ireland. Thus may the Catholic fearlessly invite attention to the sixteenth century, and contemplating the perseverance with which Ireland won and wore the martyr's palm, feel a pleasure, scarcely, if at all, inferior to that with which he dwells on the *aureole* of peaceful learning and sanctity of her first four or five centuries." But it is difficult to conceive how any person interested in the honour and security of the Church by law established in Ireland, can venture to provoke discussion on the Protestant proceedings of the sixteenth century, on the men and the means that effected the reforms of Henry VIII, of Edward, and of Elizabeth. Solicitude for the fair fame of the Established Church may excuse Mr. Palmer, but to attempt to give the air of a canonical act to the Irish Reformation, to assert that it was not effected by the strong and merciless arm of political power, is worse than useless—it is very imprudent. The high places are now filled by the *friends* of the Church by law established in Ireland. But there is among them one, whom the suppliant cry of the whole Irish Protestant episcopacy† could not deter from giving a terrible example of the *canonical* law, to which the Church by law established is subjected. His very name should be enough to make the mitres tremble on the heads of her remaining bishops, and to check the slightest aspiration to any other than a purely political existence. The Protestant Church of Ireland is at present blessed with all that her spiritual founders desired. Raised *for a time* high above all contact with popular prejudices, established by law, not in the affections of the people, but in the wide domains of the Church, she has the state for her proctor, and the landed pro-

* Both Irishmen, and founders, the former of the Northumbrian, the latter of the Scottish Churches.

† "To add to their (Irish Protestant clergy) afflictions, the *government*, in 1833, suppressed ten of the bishoprics, on pretence of requiring their revenues for the support of ecclesiastical buildings, although the bishops of Ireland, in a body, protested against such an act, and offered to pay the amount required from the income of their sees, provided that so great an injury were not done to the cause of religion." Palmer, *Ecl. Hist.* p. 267.

prietors of Ireland as her immediate vassals. She is not, indeed, blessed with many children, nor does she show many symptoms of Christian health, but wealth flows into her lap from the rich and the powerful of the land. Rich livings are in her gift, younger sons of the aristocracy must live, and so long as a sense of the interests of the whole aristocratic order, and gratitude for favours received, or hope for favours to come, can secure prompt compliance with her annual claims on her immediate supporters, so long does she appear secure in the possession of the only goods which her founders desired. The whole history of these founders proves that they sought not us but ours. The souls of the Irish gave them very little concern. Openly resting her right on parliamentary authority, and on the naked sword, imbibing her inspirations not in the commission to teach nations, but in the secular enactments of the statute book,—the Irish Protestant Church came amongst us, without the zeal of charity in her face, or words of peace and mercy on her lips. Never did she even once make those blessed words heard, when, in her name, blood flowed and famine stalked over the burnt fields of Desmond and Tyrone. The possession of the ecclesiastical property was the great, the sole object of her wishes. In vain did governor after governor call on the Protestant prelates to prove their gratitude to the royal power. In vain did Sydney call out for some Scotchmen who could speak Irish; that Spenser re-echoed the cry for only four good Englishmen to restore “the overthrowne Church;” that Mountjoy declared that Reformation should begin in their own house;—the Scotchmen came not; the English came, but could not speak Irish, and were scandalous characters; the Irish would not leave “their warm nests;” and the royal zeal, though recommended by all the authority of Elizabeth’s lay legates, found no response in the breasts of the prelates of the fallen Church. Smitten in her very infancy with all the disorders of a corrupt, superannuated, secular corporation, she was the mere puppet of the royal power; without even one thought of observing one ecclesiastical law, or of discharging any one regular function of a Christian Church. It was thus permitted by Providence, in order to preserve the Catholic faith, to remove temptation, if, indeed, from the Reformers temptation could come; and to leave evidence undeniable, that the Irish Reformation was the work of secular authority, and almost of that authority alone. We shall prove, by un-

suspected testimony, the character here given of the Elizabethan Protestant Church of Ireland.

Feeling, we suppose, that the ecclesiastical reforms of Henry and of his son, are utterly indefensible by any strained principle of Jansenistic canon law, or by any distorted precedent of ecclesiastical history, Mr. Palmer virtually abandons them with the remark, that during those two reigns not much was done. Much *was* done. More than enough to prove the utter contempt in which all ecclesiastical propriety was held by that courtly lady called "Reform." It was during those reigns that she learned to call dissent from royal theologians, treason; that she seduced some bishops by bribes, and terrified others by threats; and that she began to exercise herself to the use of the sword, which, after a passing rebuke from Queen Mary, she wielded with such dexterity over the poor Irish in the reign of Elizabeth. The reformed Church of Elizabeth, if we make some little allowance for the growth of years, is evidently identical with the reformed Irish Churches of Henry and of Edward, and must be content to take upon herself the responsibility of all their irregularities, since she never protested against them. We shall present a brief summary of those irregularities, having first merely stated, what we shall afterwards explain at length, that in the opinion of Mr. Palmer, the Irish Church was competent to abolish the supremacy and the mass, and to introduce the English Prayer Book, provided those changes were made by an act of the Irish Church herself, and not merely by secular power.

In the reign of Henry VIII, Mr. Palmer tells us—

"The abolition of the papal power in England, by the *united action* of the temporal and spiritual powers, was speedily, though imperfectly, imitated in Ireland. In 1537 the Irish parliament declared the king supreme head of the Church of Ireland, prohibited appeals to Rome, suppressed the papal jurisdiction in Ireland, and prohibited all pecuniary payments to the Roman see. The primate, Cromer, opposed, ineffectually, these regulations;—they were sustained by Brown, archbishop of Dublin, and other prelates; and it seems that the clergy took the oath of regal supremacy, and rejection of the papal jurisdiction, prescribed by act of parliament."

A few plain extracts will show how this imperfect imitation of the English Reformation was effected in Ireland. George Browne, *archbishop* of Dublin, having received a *commission* to abolish the papal jurisdiction in Ireland, informs Cromwell of the success of his *canonical* powers:—

"Most honoured lord,—Your humble servant, receiving your *mandate* as one of his highness's commissioners, hath endeavoured, almost to the danger and hazard of his temporal life, to procure the nobility and gentry of this nation to due obedience in owning of his highness as their supreme head.....And do find much oppugning therein, especially by my brother Armagh, who hath withdrawn most of his suffragans and clergy within his see and jurisdiction, laying a curse on the people whoever should own his highness's supremacy.....It is convenient to call a parliament in this nation, to pass the supremacy by act, for they do not much matter his highness's commission;—*the common people of this isle are more zealous in their blindness, than the saints and martyrs were in the truth, at the beginning of the Gospel, &c.* 1535, Sept. 4."—Cox, p. 246.

To overcome this universal resistance of clergy and people, parliament did assemble on the 1st of May, 1536; but so determined was the opposition to the royal measures by the clergy and their representatives, that though the latter were deprived of their right to vote, repeated prorogations deferred the final legislative triumph of the royal will until the 20th of December, 1537.* Thus a year and a half were required to gain even this partial success. For a considerable time, Staples of Meath, and Brown of Dublin,† stood alone, apostates from their brethren. The primate, Cromer, still resolutely opposed; and in the contest, the "gravity and meekness of his demeanour"‡ present a striking contrast to the "lightness"§ and avarice of Brown. Parliament had indeed made laws, but could not change the religious opinions of the people, for, in April 1538, Brown informed Cromwell "that the people of this nation were zealous, though unknowing; that most of the clergy, though not scholars, were crafty to cozen the poor common people, and to dissuade them from following his highness's orders; that when he had observed his lordship's letters of commission, several of his pupils left him for so doing; that his reforms were opposed by his prior and dean, who had written to Rome to be encouraged; and if it be not hindered before they have a mandate from Rome, the people will be bold, and then tug long, before his highness can submit them to his grace's orders; finally, that the country folk here much hated Cromwell, and despitely

* Cox, p. 247.

† Moore, vol. iii. p. 299.
 ‡ Henry VIII. Letter to Brown.

§ Ware.

called him, in their Irish tongue, the blacksmith's son.* No attempt was made to assemble the prelates and clergy of the Irish Church, to pronounce on the lawfulness of the new changes. The bishops who did, before Henry's death, take the oath of supremacy, were, for the most part, successors to those sees which became vacant *after* the acts of parliament had passed, and the oath was tendered to them as the price of their admission to the temporalities of their respective sees. And yet Mr. Palmer represents these individual apostacies of some ambitious and corrupt priests as the concurrence of the *Irish Church* with the action of the temporal power. Cox, his favourite author, has an excellent description of the *action* by which the supremacy was enforced on clergy and people. We do not pledge ourselves to the perfect accuracy of the details, or to the order of events, but of one thing we are quite certain,—that they are neither canonical nor Christian :—

“It seems that the lord deputy had new instructions to oblige all the Irish, by indenture, to own the king's supremacy, and to renounce the pope's usurpation, &c. &c. ; and to effect this, the lord deputy marched to Offaley on the 17th June, and on the 18th encamped in O'Mulloy's country, and took the castle of Eglis ; on the 19th he took Bir and Modrymie, in O'Carroll's country ; on the 24th O'Kennedy submitted to him in Ormond ; and on the 25th Mac Brian Arra likewise submitted. On the 26th the lord deputy came to Abbyowney, where O'Mulrian, Ulick Burke, of Clanrickard, and Tybot Burke Mac William, made their submissions ; and so on the 28th he came to Limerick, where the mayor and aldermen took the oath of supremacy, and swore to renounce the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, and the bishop of Limerick did the like without scruple ; and order was left for the clergy and commonalty of that city to follow that example, and that certificates of their performance be returned into chancery.....On the 4th of July the army came to O'Brian's Bridge, and had a skirmish with the *rebels*, and on the 6th demolished the castle and the bridge ; and on the 8th the lord deputy marched into Thomond, and took the castles of Clare and Ballycolome ; and on the 9th he came into Clanrickard, and took the castle of Ballyclare ; and on the 11th he came to Galway, and the mayor and aldermen followed the example of Limerick, and took the oath of the king's supremacy, and renounced the pope's usurped authority,—and here O'Flaherty, O'Madden, and Mac Yoris made their submissions. On the 21st the lord deputy removed to O'Kelly's country, where O'Connor

* Cox, p. 256.

Mac Henry submitted.....So on the 25th the lord deputy returned to Maynooth.* And it is to be noted, that all those that submitted were bound by indenture, as well as oath, to own the king's supremacy, and to renounce the pope's usurpations. But when the king had an account of what was done, he answered, by his letter to the lord deputy, that their oaths, submissions, and indentures, were not worth a farthing, since they did not give hostages."—*Cox*, p. 253, A.D. 1537.

Thus, by marches and countermarches, by storming castles, and blowing up bridges, by appearing before affrighted churchmen and aldermen with all the pomp and terrors of war, was the royal supremacy canonically established throughout the land. The oath in one hand, and in the other the sword, which, by the execution of the Fitzgeralds, had lately sent terror and the bereavement of family affliction into most of the great families of the nation, the lord deputy propagated the new creed in the true style of Mahometan conquest. It would require an accurate knowledge of the precise limits of spiritual and temporal jurisdiction to enable the Irish, who took the oath at this early period, to distinguish between the submission thus exacted by military force, and that civil submission which had been often exacted from them by the armed hostings of the pale. At a later period, it is true, many of the Irish chieftains are said to have acknowledged Henry's claims. But they had before their eyes the specimen just given of the vigorous arguments by which these claims would be enforced. They had also the hope of political justice, of being allowed to hold the lands which had belonged to their ancestors. If they were dazzled by this unexpected gleam of royal justice, and submitted, their submission was not an act of the nation. Many of them forfeited the affections of their countrymen; others renounced the new honours; and, the souls of the Kerne and the Galloglass being as precious as those of their masters (though a stately religion may not think so), we can console ourselves for the misfortune of the chiefs, in the fidelity of the *Irish people*,—still Catholic to the heart's core, and as "zealous," according to Brown, "as the saints and martyrs for the truth."

The progress of the Reformation under Edward was worthy of its origin under Henry. The youthful reformer sent over a *proclamation* to Ireland, on 6th of February 1550, ordering

* The baronial residence of the earls of Kildare. Earl Thomas and his five uncles were executed by Henry, A.D. 1537. Maynooth was occupied by the king's troops, and was *then*, it would seem, a great centre of Protestantism.

the introduction of the English liturgy: "Edward, by the grace of God, &c. &c., wills and commands, as also authorizes you, Sir Anthony A. Leger, knight, our Viceroy of that our kingdom of Ireland, to give special notice to all our clergy, as well archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, as others our secular parish priests, within that our said kingdom of Ireland, to perfect, execute, and *obey** this our royal will and pleasure accordingly."† 2. In defiance of the primate Dowdal, and of the majority of the bishops assembled in synod, the royal order was received by Brown, of Dublin, saying, "This order, good brethren, is from our gracious king . . . unto whom I submit, as Jesus did to Cesar, in all things just and lawful, *making no question why or wherefore*,‡ as we own him our true and lawful king." 3. The English liturgy, in obedience to the royal will and pleasure, was introduced into several churches of the English pale without the consent of the bishops of the Irish Church, and contrary to the declared wishes of the majority of the synod in Dublin assembled. 4. To punish Dowdal's opposition, *the king and council of England* deprived him of his primacy, and transferred it to Dublin. 5. While Dowdal was yet living, Goodacre, the royal nominee, schismatically intruded into his see of Armagh. 6. In contempt of the ecclesiastical law of celibacy, received, and obligatory, in the Church of Ireland, Brown of Dublin, Travers of Leighlin, Lancaster of Kildare, Bale of Ossory, Casey of Limerick, and Staples of Meath, were married. All these changes were effected by the royal will and pleasure, and by the schismatical and heretical co-operation of a few bishops, without even the sanction of parliamentary authority, upon which Dr. Mant prudentially rests the rights of the Protestant Church of Ireland. They were execrated by the second order of the clergy and by the people, even in those dioceses over which schismatical bishops had been placed. If we believe Dr. Mant, Brown, and Bale, *bishop* of Ossory, were the most distinguished advocates of the liturgy. If we believe Bale, himself alone was worthy of peculiar distinction; for he complains of the "lewd example of his brother, of Dublin, and of his zeal ever slack in things pertaining to the glory of God;" while he dwells with complacency on his own exertions to enlighten the benighted citizens and clergy of

* Var. Lec. Mr. Palmer alone, against King Edward *et omnes*, asserts that the royal proclamation only *recommended* the liturgy.

† Cox, p. 288.

‡ Cox, p. 290.

Kilkenny. "He treated at large both of the heavenly and political state of the Christian Church, and helpers he found none; but adversaries a great many among his prebendaries and clergy." His own words will best tell how utterly fruitless was the preaching of the most zealous of Edward's bishops: "On Thursday, the last day of August (after Mary's accession), I being absent, the clergy of Kilkenny blasphemously resumed again the whole papism, or heap of superstition of the Bishop of Rome, to the utter contempt of Christ and of his holy Word, of the king and council of England, and of all ecclesiastical and political order, without even statute or yet proclamation. They rang all the bells in that cathedral, minster, and parish churches; they flung up their caps to the battlements of the great temple, with smilings and laughings most dissolutely; they brought forth their copes, candlesticks, crosses, and censers; they mustered forth in general procession most gorgeously all the town over, with *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*—and the rest of the Latin Litany. They chattered and chaunted it with great noise and devotion. They banquetted it all the day after for that they were delivered from the grace of God into a warm sun.* Thus, as if awaking from a hideous dream, did the clergy and people of the "faire citie" fling off, with the nightmare of Bale's presence, the worship imposed upon them by royal proclamation; and yet Mr. Palmer gravely assures us, that, for many long years after the accession of Elizabeth, those very aisles of the great temple were thronged with clergy and people, willing believers in that very doctrine which, at the accession of Mary, was rejected with so much unanimity and delight. Dr. Mant does not disguise the truth. He candidly acknowledges that "not much was done during this six years' reign because of the *untractable temper* of the people, and their *inveterate attachment* to the superstitions of Rome." It can be scarcely necessary to add, that had the Irish not been *inveterately* attached to Rome, we would have heard few complaints from Dr. Mant of their untractable temper.

From these proceedings in the reigns of Henry and Edward, we can easily judge of the value to be attached to Mr. Palmer's assertion, that the Irish Church cooperated with those monarchs in abolishing the supremacy, and in intro-

* For these extracts from Bale see Dr. Mant, Hist. of the Established Church of Ireland, reign of Edward.

ducing the English Liturgy. If there had been question—not of the sacrifice of the mass, but of some national ecclesiastical law regarding its celebration,—not of the supremacy of the Pope, but of some merely disciplinary and national regulation of its exercise,—if, in a word, the changes were such as could be lawfully made by a national Church in its own peculiar national discipline; yet would the means by which these changes were effected be utterly opposed to every principle of ecclesiastical law. Yet, for the tyrannical interference of Henry and of Edward, and for the schismatical and heretical opposition of some bishops to their brethren, Mr. Palmer has not one word of censure. His wrath is exclusively reserved for the *irregular* acts of Mary restoring the Catholic religion in Ireland. “In the reign of Mary,” he says, “the chief prelate, Dowdal, under royal commission in 1554, deprived and expelled from their sees the Archbishop of Dublin and three or four other prelates favourable to Reformation, and six bishops were ordained in place of the bishops expelled, or condemned to fly.” These proceedings he contrasts with the expulsion of Catholic bishops in the reign of Elizabeth. “Five bishops favourable to Reformation had been expelled irregularly by royal commission in the time of Queen Mary; two only out of the whole number of Irish bishops were expelled from their sees in the reign of Elizabeth, in consequence of their opposition to measures approved by the rest, and it is to be observed that these two bishops (of Meath and Kildare) hath both intruded into their sees, the legitimate pastors being still alive, and deprived not by a synod, but by a single bishop, which was altogether contrary to the canons.” Hence it appears that Mr. Palmer can appeal to canons when he thinks they suit his purpose. We shall see immediately the number of bishops expelled by Elizabeth, and the approbation given by the Irish bishops to her measures; for the present we dispose of the irregular expulsion of five bishops in the reign of Mary by a single bishop, without a synod, and by royal commission. We have had already occasion to observe that Cox is an authority with Mr. Palmer. The simple text of Cox therefore may be more welcome than Ware, who, in his annals, confirms, or rather supplies the following narrative:

“George Dowdal, Archbishop of Armagh, who fled beyond the seas in the reign of King Edward, was now recalled and restored to the title of Primate of all Ireland. He held a provincial synod in Drogheda (Tredagh) where they made some progress towards restoring Popery and *depriving the married clergy*. But in April

it went farther, and the Primate and Dr. Walsh (elect Bishop of Meath) received a commission *to deprive them*, and accordingly Staples, Bishop of Meath, was for that reason deprived on the 29th day of June, and in the latter end of the same year the like was done to Brown, Archbishop of Dublin, Lancaster, Bishop of Kildare, and Travers, Bishop of Leighlin, and the two other Protestant bishops, viz., Bale, Bishop of Ossory, and Casey, Bishop of Limerick, fled beyond the seas."

Here, it is true, we have royal commissions to execute what had been already canonically decreed in synod—to punish, by deprivation, a few bishops who, by a proceeding altogether contrary to the canons, had taken wives, adopted the English Liturgy, and given more authority to the king and council of England, than to the opposing voice of the Irish church. Walsh, Bishop of Meath, and Leverous, Bishop of Kildare, therefore were not intruders, but bishops canonically instituted in place of Staples and of Lancaster canonically deprived—according to Mr. Palmer's system of canon law.

"For Elizabeth was reserved the glory of finally emancipating the Church of Ireland from the Roman usurpation, not, however, without the accompanying calamity of a schism which has continued ever since." So says Mr. Palmer, as he steps forth to vindicate the legitimacy of the Elizabethan Church of Ireland. Though he prudently reserved all his strength for the defence of Elizabeth, he honestly acknowledges the difficulty of his enterprise, which is nothing less than to refute what has been often asserted by friends and by enemies, and without contradiction, namely, that in the reign of Elizabeth religion was changed by merely secular and parliamentary power. Unwilling to acknowledge that to this violent interposition of temporal power, the people of Ireland are indebted for the blessing of a Reformed Church, every nerve is strained to prove that the notions generally, and without contradiction, and for three centuries entertained on this matter, are without the slightest foundation. The Irish Reformation was *not* the work of the civil power. It was the act of the Irish Church herself. It was *not* opposed by the people and by the clergy of the second order. The inferior clergy generally concurred, and the laity everywhere continued subject to their pastors and did not cease to attend the sacred offices. The Irish Church was competent to abolish the supremacy and to substitute the English Prayer Book for the Roman Missal, and she did so by the unanimous and authentic voice of her prelates.

"The Earl of Sussex was sent by the queen in 1560 to promote the adoption of these measures in the Irish Parliament; 1. and also to convene a general assembly of the clergy and secure their sanction. 2. In the parliament which met and enacted those regulations, nineteen prelates were present, of whom only two were opposed to their adoption. At this time we know that not more than twenty-six bishops were living in the Irish Church, probably not so many. Thus a great majority of the whole synod of Irish bishops assented to the measures in parliament, and the assembly of the clergy offered no opposition."

These were assuredly brilliant prospects for the Reformation. Not only did it receive this sanction of the bishops in synod assembled, but was also approved by those who had remained at home in their sees; the whole body (generally) of the inferior clergy obediently submitted to their bishops—the people every where to their clergy; so that bishops, priests, and people, of the Irish Church were at once metamorphosed into pious Protestants, by the salutary agency of one short parliament of Elizabeth. Whence then the cloud that so soon darkened this fair dawn of Irish Protestantism? Whence the extraordinary change in the religious sentiments of the Irish clergy and people? How came it to pass that at the death of Elizabeth the survivors of her tyranny were almost exclusively Catholic? That Chichester complained of the very air of Ireland being tainted with Popery? That though "brayed as it were in a mortar by famine, pestilence, and the sword,"* the Irish still clung to the Pope? Did Elizabeth and her officers slay all the believers who submitted so willingly, and who persevered so long, quietly frequenting the sacred offices of the Protestants? No, not the sword of the Virgin slew the bodies of the Protestants, but the machinations of Rome involved their souls in perdition. Their attachment to the state religion and all its fair worldly promises was shaken by the spiritual threats of Richard Creagh, schismatically intruded by the Roman Pontiff into the see of Armagh. But neither the exertions of Creagh nor of the other Roman emissaries would have succeeded, without the use of more carnal weapons than those hitherto employed. The people were very ignorant, and very barbarous, and superstitious; and some of them were deluded by various lying and extravagantly absurd stories and miracles. But the mass was sound, and would have had sense enough

* Sir John Davis, *Reasons*, &c. &c.

to continue Protestant, had not some Irish and Anglo-Irish lords been induced to rebel. They *did* rebel against the mild sway of Elizabeth; the Irish Catholic clergy were in front of the Rebellion—and, by various bloody and savage insurrections, the *Roman schism* was unhappily extended and consolidated. How? By wresting with armed hand concession and toleration from Elizabeth? By success in the field? No; but by the depopulation of three-fourths of the island; by the confiscation of a million of Catholic acres; by the application of the rope and of the axe to the necks of Catholic bishops and priests; by the vigorous enforcement of penal laws when they could be prudently enforced. Such were the means by which Ireland, universally Protestant for ten or twelve years after the accession of Elizabeth, was, at her death, universally Catholic!!! Whoever doubts the possible combination, in one learned head, of such a profound knowledge of history and of human nature as this sketch exhibits, can settle all his doubts by consulting Mr. Palmer's Treatise on the Church.

With Mr. Palmer's theology we have at present nothing to do. Without discussing the right attributed to the Irish Church, of rejecting the papal supremacy and the mass, we merely inquire whether the bishops of Ireland did really renounce these doctrines, and whether the decision of the bishops, if formally and authentically given, was at first universally received by clergy and people without opposition. Had Elizabeth's power in Ireland been equal to her hatred of Catholicity, she would undoubtedly have realized Mr. Palmer's fiction of the first years of her reign, if the attachment of the Irish to their creed were not stronger than their fear of death. She had elsewhere given proofs of the rigour with which she could dragoon an unwilling clergy and people into submission to her will, and could the same means be tried in Ireland, it would not be Elizabeth's fault if they were not attended with the same effects. But, fortunately, Ireland did not offer such facilities for the effectual enforcement of the penal statutes of 1560. Without entering into a lengthened detail of the very complicated Irish ecclesiastical affairs, of the forty-three years ending in 1603; without appealing to any other but Protestant authorities, we can show that at no period of Elizabeth's reign did the Irish acquiesce in the religious change, and that the consent, supposed to have been given by their prelates to that change, is a fiction of Mr. Palmer's. The royal authority was not sufficiently

strong in Ireland to compel the people to submission. Though laws had often been made, and armies often set on foot to break the power of the Irish and of the Anglo-Irish lords, and to abolish Irish laws, language, and customs, it is notorious that in the year 1560, not more than a few counties and some of the principal towns of Ireland were really subject to English power. Ulster was not divided into counties until late in Elizabeth's reign,—was not even then troubled with the permanent presence of English authorities,—and continued virtually independent, under the M'Guires, Mac Mahons, O'Donnells, and O'Neils, down to the submission of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. An English president was not appointed in Connaught until the year 1568. Previously to that time it had been entirely under the control of the two families of the Burkes, and of the native Irish families—O'Connor, O'Ruark, &c.; and even when the president was established, his tyranny and exactions often drove the inhabitants to resistance, and made his power precarious and inefficient. Over the greater part of Munster, the Earls of Desmond and the numerous branches of his family reigned like independent princes; and so utterly powerless was the royal authority, that it could not prevent, at least for some years after Elizabeth's accession, the baronial feuds of Desmond and Ormond, by which, we are told, the counties of Waterford, Tipperary, and Kilkenny, were almost laid desolate. An English president was not sent to Munster until 1568. Even in Leinster, the accession of Longford to the number of English counties was made in the reign of Elizabeth. She had no power in Wicklow; none in immense tracts lying on the borders of the counties of Carlow and Wexford; and her officers with difficulty maintained themselves in the King's and Queen's counties, against the very natural and very vigorous efforts of the O'Moores and O'Connors to recover their inheritance, of which they had been treacherously and tyrannically deprived. When to these we add, Clare in the hands of the O'Briens, and the northern portion of Tipperary in the hands of the O'Carrolls, we have a pretty correct view of the political state of far the greater part of Ireland when the penal statutes were passed in the parliament of the pale, 1560. If the clergy and people of three provinces of the island, and of a large portion of the fourth, did, for many years after Elizabeth's accession, frequent the sacred offices of the Protestant Church, they must have done so from pure love of Protestantism, for there was no power to compel them. His-

tory tells us that they did not willingly submit to the state creed. Almost all these portions of Ireland were, during the reign of Elizabeth, the theatre of almost continual war, whose professed political objects were, the abolition of the power of the Irish and Anglo-Irish lords; the compulsory surrender of a portion of their lands, to be held under English tenure; the plantation of English families, whenever it was possible; the payment of cess for the re-granted lands, and the destruction of Irish captainries. These political objects were effected by treachery, violence, undisguised injustice, and wholesale murder, unparalleled in the annals of the most savage warfare. All the oppressed were of the Catholic religion;—and often made that religion their rallying cry. Against that religion came Protestantism; established, not by preaching or teaching, but by the very same means by which the political objects were effected. “Civilitie, good government, and religion,” were always on the lips of English governors,—who established that religion against the will of a people,—“brayed, as it were, in a mortar, by famine, by pestilence, and by the sword.”

Nor did the pale itself, the stronghold of the English power, offer much greater facilities for the tranquil establishment of the Protestant creed. The pale was necessary for the support of Elizabeth’s power; it was identified in feeling with England, but remained firmly attached to the Catholic religion. The opposition apprehended may be judged from the fact, that out of nineteen *English* counties, only ten were represented in the parliament of 1560;* and yet, even in this packed parliament, so determined was the resistance to the royal will, that Archdeacon Lynch assures us, the penal measures were passed through the house on a day on which a session was neither expected nor attended by many of the members.† Mary’s laws in favour of the Catholic religion were repealed. Acts were passed obliging all ecclesiastical persons, and those who held offices, to renounce, by an oath of supremacy, all foreign jurisdiction. Uniformity of public worship was decreed. Any clergyman refusing to use the English book of prayer, or using any other form of public worship, rite, ceremony, or manner of celebrating the Lord’s supper, *openly* or *privily*, was, for the first offence, to forfeit all the profit or income of his benefice for one year; for the

* Leland, b. iv. c. i. p. 225, vol. ii.

† Dalton’s History of the County Dublin, p. 411.

second offence, imprisonment at pleasure; and for the third, imprisonment for life.

Almost all our historians of note, both Protestant and Catholic, concur in representing the discontent produced in Ireland by this parliament, as deep and universal. "At the very beginning of this parliament, Her Majesty's well wishers found that most of the nobility and commons were divided in opinion about the ecclesiastical government, which caused the Earl of Sussex to dissolve them, and to go over to England, to consult Her Majesty on the affairs of the kingdom."* During his absence, the government was intrusted to William Fitzwilliam; a person, says Dr. Leland, "Not considerable enough to enforce his authority among a people, who were only to be managed by a deputy of power and consequence, and were now particularly provoked by the violence offered to their religious prejudices. The partisans of Rome inveighed against the queen and her impious ministers. The clergy who refused to conform, abandoned their cures, no reformed ministers could be found to supply their places; the churches fell to ruin, and *the people were left without any religious worship or instruction.* Even in places of most civility, the statutes lately made were evaded or neglected with impunity. The ignorant were taught to abominate a government which they heard consigned to the terrors of divine vengeance." The evident prejudice, and warm Protestantism of this extract, recommended it strongly to Mr. Palmer's especial consideration. After an absence of two or three months, according to Ware, "Sussex returned to Ireland, and some time after, special letters arrived from Elizabeth, ordering a general meeting of the clergy of Ireland, and the establishment of the Protestant religion throughout the several dioceses of the kingdom." Hence it clearly appears, that neither Elizabeth nor her ministers attached much importance to the convocation of the Irish clergy. The authority of parliament alone was at first sought, and, three months after, it was deemed becoming to ascertain what were the opinions of the Church on matters which, with the sanction of heavy penalties, had been already arranged by parliamentary and by royal authority. Whether the nineteen bishops who, it is said, attended the parliament, were detained in Dublin for two or three months until the meeting of convocation; whether, if they went

* Ware's Annals.

home, any or all of them returned; whether, in fine, the convocation was attended by two or more bishops, we have now no means of determining.

The act, therefore, by which the Irish Church emancipated herself from the supremacy of Rome, and stood forth to the world in all the *noble independence* of Protestantism, must be the consent given by the presence of nineteen bishops when the penal enactments were hurried through parliament. Before we examine how far the presence of the bishops (if they were present), can be taken as a proof of their free consent and acceptance of the royal will, it may be necessary to ask, whether, if some, or all of the bishops dissented, Elizabeth could have tried an ecclesiastical *coup de main*, and deprived all the dissentients. That she had the will, no person doubts; that she had the means is very doubtful, because of the discontent of the people; and moreover, we know from the whole policy of her reign, that the penal statutes were not uniformly enforced,—they were relaxed, when political necessity required, and enforced when the existence of the English government would not be endangered by their enforcement. How then does the alleged presence of the nineteen bishops prove that they sanctioned the Protestant statutes? Did Walsh of Meath, and Leverous of Kildare, sanction them? Certainly not, for they were afterwards deposed, because they opposed them, and yet both Walsh of Meath, and Leverous of Kildare, were present in the parliament of 1560. The simple presence of the bishops, is not a conclusive proof, nor of itself any proof at all of their apostacy. Other arguments must be adduced to prove that Protestantism had even the parliamentary assent of the "*synod of bishops*" in the parliament of 1560, and other arguments there are none; but one, which if true, imprints indelibly the seal of royal violence on the origin of the Irish established Church. The seventeen bishops would be deprived had they dissented, say our adversaries; if so, the consent of the Irish Church was given not from free choice but under the influence of fear; and the *emancipation* of the Irish Church was not her own canonical act, but the violent effect of royal power. It does not, however, by any means appear, that the dissentients could be deprived. Walsh of Meath, and Leverous of Kildare, must have been peculiarly obnoxious, because they had both been joined with Dowdal in the commission for the depriva-

tion of the married clergy in the preceding reign,* and yet after the convocation, Walsh was allowed to retire to Trim, where he preached publicly against the oath of supremacy, and the book of English prayer.† What was to prevent other dissentients from retiring to their dioceses, and refusing to co-operate in the new reforms? Elizabeth's authority was strong in the dioceses of Meath and Kildare, and she could easily, as she effectually did, deprive Walsh and Leverous, but it would be a more difficult matter to send orders "to clap up in prison,"‡ a Munster, a Connaught, or an Ulster bishop. We defy Mr. Palmer to produce against all, or against more than one or two of the seventeen bishops, any other proof of apostacy, than their non-deprivation. Immediately after the parliament, in the very first nomination to the diocese of Armagh, "the high spirited queen," is commiserated by Dr. Leland, because she was obliged to renounce a statute passed in that parliament, and declared essential to the royal power and dignity. The *Congé d'Elire* was declared by parliament injurious to the queen, and yet the queen was obliged to issue a *Congé d'Elire* for the election of Loftus to the see of Armagh. Want of power therefore, to enforce the statutes of 1560, or rather a wish to obtain possession of all the sees gradually, as they became vacant, may explain what to Dr. Mant seems inexplicable. "Why," he writes, "those who had incurred the penalty of their confession of the reformed faith, were not restored to their see on Queen Elizabeth's accession, or why Bishop Casey was not restored till after the lapse of so long a period of deprivation has not been fully explained. Bishop Bale is supposed not have desired restoration, and possibly the others were dead, before the opportunity had arrived of restoring them. But in effect this conduct of the government, rather wears the appearance of lenity and forbearance towards the advocates of Popery, than of a just and equitable consideration for the martyrs of the reformed Church." In the conduct of the government there was forbearance, but it was a forbearance exacted by the same necessity which secured for many of the inhabitants of the pale a relaxation of some of the penal laws, during the whole reign of Elizabeth. From "*the answer of the Protestant Committee to the false and scandalous remonstrance of the bloody and inhuman*

* Dr. Mant's History, &c. &c.

† Ware's Annals.

‡ Ibid.

rebels of Ireland, presented to the king at Oxford, A.D. 1644," it would appear that notwithstanding the 2nd of Elizabeth, there had been ten chief judges successively, and all the inferior judges of Irish birth and education,* that several Irish papists had commands in the queen's army, and were governors of counties, &c., as the Earls of Thomond and Clanrickard, and even those who were unfit for it, &c.... and were Papists, were nevertheless upon an external and partial conformity only, continued in their spiritual dignities notwithstanding the 2nd of Elizabeth."† An example to be given immediately will show that there was not even an external and partial conformity in every instance; we have no proof but the assertions of the "answerers," that there was, in many, and even though there were some instances of external and partial conformity, who will dignify such conformity from persons "known to be Papists," with the name of canonical approbation of the parliamentary creed? We believe the "external and partial conformity," if any such there was, to have consisted rather in silence, and in an absence of vigorous resistance, than in any positive approval; for had the conformists taken the oath of supremacy, and read the English prayer, how could their conformity be denominated partial? It is certain, that very few of the bishops living in 1560, are ever charged by any of our Catholic writers with apostacy. Thus in the appointment of Strong to the see of Ossory, Thonory is mentioned without any note or censure which would imply that he had apostatized;‡ and he certainly never was recognized bishop by law.¶ Hugh Lacy, appointed by Mary to the see of Limerick, certainly never took the oath of supremacy, or read the Common Prayer in his Church,§ and yet he continued in possession of his see until the year 1571,¶ when he was deprived, and Casey, his schismatical predecessor, restored. In 1568, presidents had been appointed, both for Munster and Connaught; and thus the expulsion of Lacy would not be attended with such dangerous consequences as would have arisen had Elizabeth declared open war against the religion of the people whom she had not the means of awing by the presence of her officers, the Earls of Desmond and of Thomond, and the citizens of Limerick. Drury was

* I. e. Papists, as appears from the context.

† VI. Appendix, Cox.

‡ Burke, Hib. Dom.

¶ Cox, p. 300.

§ Ware, bishops.

¶ Bruodin. Passio Martyrum, p. 429, 30, vol. i. Theatre of the Protestant and Catholic Religion, printed A.D. 1620.

the first English authority that set his foot in the palatinate of Kerry in 1576; so that unless the Catholic Earls of Desmond compelled Fitzmaurice bishop of Ardfort (from 1551 to 1576), to take the oath of supremacy, and to read the English liturgy, we have not the slightest doubt that Fitzmaurice never approved the parliamentary creed. When to these examples we add, that the Pope continued to appoint without control to the three bishoprics of Derry, Clogher, and Raphoe, through the whole reign of Elizabeth,* we have assigned sufficient proofs that the Irish Church did not ratify the parliamentary creed of 1560. Miler M'Grath, it is true, was appointed to the see of Clogher schismatically by Elizabeth in 1570, but the revenues could not be got, and Miler was removed to Cashel. The Church and abbey lands of these three northern dioceses, continued, according to Sir John Davis, in the possession of the Catholic clergy, down to the accession of James; the most convincing proof that could be desired of the small progress the reformation had made in the north. The seizure of all the Church property would have been the first, as it was almost universally the only act of the Irish reformers for the advancement of their Church.

Having thus disposed of the imaginary act of the Irish Church emancipating herself from the Pope in 1560, we come to another parliament held in 1585, under Sir John Perrott. Of this parliament Mr. Palmer writes:—

“ In the Irish parliament under Sir John Perrott's administration, 1585, four archbishops and twenty bishops were actually present, and as we know that at this time three of the twenty-nine sees existing at the accession of Elizabeth, were held *in commendam* with others, and one at least was vacant, we see that at this time, all the dioceses of Ireland must have been possessed by the Church. Sir John Davis seems to have erred in saying that there were three northern dioceses, to which the queen never presented, as we find M'Grath made Bishop of Clogher in 1570. But at all events, the bishops of those dioceses must have been in communion with the Church of Ireland in 1585. Thus the regular and ancient succession of bishops from St. Patrick, through a long line of venerable prelates, has descended continually in the Church of Ireland to the present day. The Romish society on the other hand, derived its mission and succession from the pope of Rome, in the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First, and cannot in any degree derive itself from the ancient Church of Ireland, from which

* Leland, b. iv. c. ii. p. 248.

it separated. We may conclude from these facts, that the community of Romanists in Ireland, thus formed, was no part of the Church of Christ, for I have proved before, that voluntary separation from a Christian Church, and the establishment of a rival communion, is a separation from Jesus Christ and altogether inexcusable."

If a succession of the venerable prelates of the Elizabeth Church, have descended continually in Ireland down to the present day; the succession was not broken by the flight of the Protestant prelates in the interval between 1641 and 1560, or by the loss of ten of its episcopal links in 1833. A hierarchy, in Mr. Palmer's principles, is not interrupted by the flight of many or of all of its members, or by the violent suppression of some of its sees. Aided by the light which this principle supplies, we see clearly that this boasted parliament of 1585, in which all the prelates of Ireland were assembled in brotherly communion, by no means establishes the legitimate succession of the Protestant Church, nor interrupts the Catholic succession of the Irish Church. Looking over the list of bishops in Ware, we find that of all the prelates of 1560, scarcely one was alive in 1585. How were their parliamentary successors appointed? whence had they their mission? Not from the Church of Ireland, which as we have proved never gave an authentic sanction to the parliamentary creed of 1560. On the contrary, the Church of Ireland held through many of her sees, uncontrolled, undisputed communion with Rome, and through other sees maintained the same communion, notwithstanding secular violence, and the schismatical intrusion of Elizabethan bishops. When the parliament of 1585 was sitting, Richard Creagh, Catholic primate of Armagh, was closing his honoured life in the tower of London,* protesting by the constancy of his death, as he had protested by the active zeal of his life, against the legitimacy of the parliamentary primates, imposed upon the Church of Ireland without her consent. At the same moment also, Moriarty O'Brien, Catholic bishop of Emly, was confessing the true faith in the dungeons of Dublin castle.† These and other zealous bishops who preceded and followed them during the reign of Elizabeth, were appointed by the Pope without any material change in the essential discipline received in the Irish Church before the Reformation,||

* Stewart's History of Armagh, p. 250.

+ Brennan's Ecc. Hist. of Ireland, v. ii. p. 129.

† Synodus et Opuscula S. Patritii, p. 336.

and never abrogated by any other than royal and parliamentary, and consequently incompetent, authority. It is true that of the eighteen or twenty bishops thus appointed, many were compelled to fly from their flocks, some died in prison and others sealed with their blood the faith, whose denial would have secured life, liberty, and Protestant promotion.* But tyrannical violence could not interrupt canonical succession, and even in the worst times, bishops were found to cling to Ireland, and to maintain her faith. These bishops were the true Catholic pastors of the Irish Church; and though we allowed that royal nominees sat in the parliament of 1585 for all the sees in Ireland, we may regard them as temporal lords, or if you will, law bishops; but we cannot recognize them as legitimate links in the apostolical succession of the Irish Catholic Church. It was a bitter mockery to say to the people of Ireland, that the Act of Union was passed by her own representatives,—it being notorious, that the House of Commons was packed by English and Scotch creatures of the British minister, men who represented, not the sentiments of the people, but their own corruption, and the corruption of those who admitted them for money into parliament. More insulting still is it to the Catholic Church of Ireland, to assert that those bishops of 1585, the creatures of royal tyranny, were the true prelates of a Church which had never approved, but on the contrary, down to that moment had constantly opposed the parliamentary creed. They were not the true prelates of the Catholic Church of Ireland. They represented, not the Church but their own servility, and the edge of Elizabeth's sword. Her power had extended to a large portion of Ireland before 1585; her bishops, as we have already observed, were planted in the Church lands, precisely as the English undertakers were planted in the confiscated estates, and with these bishops the parliament of 1585 was packed.

Here, however, an interesting question arises. How does the presence of twenty-six bishops in that parliament prove that they were Protestants? Not having seen the rolls, we cannot vouch for the truth of Dr. Leland's assertion, that the bishops of Raphoe and Clogher were present. Sir John Davis assures us, that Elizabeth never presented to those sees, and Mr. Taylor declares, that the bishops of Clogher and Raphoe, who sat in the parliament of 1585, were professed Roman Catholics.† It is certain that in the acts of that parliament,

* Brennan, v. ii. p. 123.

† Taylor's Civil Wars, vol. i. p. 205.

as given by Cox and others, there is no express declaration of Protestantism, no statute expressly renewing or sanctioning Protestantism. It appears to have been convoked for purely political purposes, and if the oath of supremacy were not tendered, why might not Catholic bishops take their seats in the House of Lords, to deliberate on the temporal interests of Ireland.* If we believe the answer to the remonstrance, places in the armies and courts of law were held by Catholics, notwithstanding the second of Elizabeth. In moments of danger the penal statutes were relaxed: the hostile designs of Spain may have had some influence on the Irish councils of 1585; and Perrott certainly received a letter that year from Elizabeth,† ordering him not to tender the oath of allegiance to persons of "nobilitie and qualitie." Allowing therefore, that the bishops of Clogher and Raphoe were present in 1585, it by no means appears that they took the oath of allegiance. But whatever may be thought of the extent of Sir John's toleration,‡ we have not the slightest hesitation in asserting, that the Catholic bishop of Raphoe was not in the parliament of 1585 (in person), or if he were there, that he did not apostatize. Raphoe was held in that year by Donogh Magonail (Mac Congal), one of the three Irish bishops who had attended the Council of Trent.§ Had he renounced his faith, his name assuredly would have descended to us in company with those of Myler M'Grath, and Poer, of Ferns,|| the only bishops of those appointed after 1560, who renounced the faith. Bishop M'Congal died at Caledbeg (Killybeg), in

* Especially bishops from the north. The strength and national spirit of Ulster secured its inhabitants from much permanent molestation on the score of religion until the close of Elizabeth's reign. The act of 1568, which vested the nomination of clergy for Munster and Connaught in the lord deputy, could not be extended with safety to Ulster. The Catholic clergy held possession of the Church and abbey lands until the fall of Tyrone. Perrott was reprimanded by Elizabeth for tendering the oath of obedience to the northern chieftains, and Tyrone's religion, it is said, was never inquired after, much less punished.

† Deedes and Death of Perrott, p. 213.

‡ Sir John Perrott would not spare some Catholic clergymen. In 1582, writing to the queen, he recommends that all bards and rhymers, that infect the people, friars, monks, Jesuits, pardonners, and nuns, and such like, that openly seek the maintenance of the Papacy—a traitorous kind of people, be executed by martial law!!! In his last will, made by him under sentence of death, "He takes God to witness that he never had purpose to favour Maister Doctor Creagh, or ever saw him to his knowledge, but was desirous to take him neither did I ever favour fryars or such kind of vermyne, but I have suppressed more monasteries and fryars while I governed the lande of Irelande than was done by all the governors before for thirtie years, neither did I ever favour Papists for papistry sake, but I did justice to and for them upon any complainte."

§ Ware's Bishops.

|| Poer certainly, and perhaps Myler. M'Grath repented, and died Catholic.

the county Donegal, in 1589.* The celebrity which his presence at the Council of Trent must have given him with his countrymen, makes silence on his fall, had he fallen, impossible. His reputation is, however, with all our writers, unsullied. The same arguments apply, with considerable, if not with equal force to the Bishop of Clogher. Among the names of the persons who took the oath of obedience during Perrott's visits to the north, the name of the Bishop of Clogher is not found.† There were also other sees not *possessed* by the Protestant Church in 1585. Killala, Kerry, and Achonry had not Elizabethan bishops at that time.‡ The see of Achonry was filled by the venerable Eugene O'Hart, who was appointed by Pius IV, on the 28th of January 1562, and having assisted as bishop in the Council of Trent in 1563, returned to Ireland, where, at the patriarchal age of one hundred years, he died in his own diocese, and was buried in his own church in 1603.§ He outlived the persecutions of Elizabeth's long reign, connecting in his own person, and in the constant profession of the same faith, the Catholic Church of Ireland with the venerable fathers of Trent, with whom he had pronounced anathema against all the heresies of the sixteenth century, the Anglican included. As he was a friar, it may be interesting to inquire how he escaped the dangers to which friars and monks were especially exposed. He could find a secure asylum with the O'Rourkes, of Breffney, as well as with the O'Connor Sligoes, their neighbours. O'Rourke's name does not appear among the submissions made to Perrott, in Connaught,|| and the commissioners sent to make *composition* in that province in 1585 "were doubtful how to meddle (i. e. did not meddle at all) with O'Rourke's country, considering the condition of himself and his country both uncivil and unruly."¶ In the rising out under Tyrone, O'Rourke was the last to lay down his arms, in 1603. Thus, through a succession of martyr prelates, was the Apostolicity of the Catholic Church of Ireland preserved, notwithstanding the persecution of Elizabeth and Mr. Palmer's Parliament of 1585.

It was about this time that Elizabeth attempted to deprive John Brady, Catholic bishop of Kilmore, and schismatically intruded John Garvey into that see, which, up to that time, had held undisputed communion with Rome. She had also in

* Ann. iv. Mag.

† Life of Perrott.

‡ Ware's Bishops.

§ Hiber. Domin. p. 486.

|| Government of Perrott, p. 11.

¶ Government of Perrott, p. 85; i. e. "Unwilling to surrender lands held from their fathers, and pay cess for the portion English commissioners might please to give them back."

1570 schismatically deprived and cruelly imprisoned O'Herlihy, bishop of Ross, who had assisted in the Council of Trent, 1563. Of the Catholic prelates, therefore, whom Elizabeth found in undisputed and lawful possession of their sees, she deprived, Walsh of Meath, Leverous of Kildare, Lacy of Limerick, O'Herlihy of Ross, Brady of Kilmore, and very probably Fitzmaurice of Kerry. When to these we add the bishops already mentioned, who were canonically appointed by Rome, but were prevented by parliamentary law from residing in their sees, already filled with parliamentary bishops, we have striking proofs of Elizabeth's pretended respect for the canonical rights of the Church of Ireland.

The conduct of the inferior clergy and people was worthy of the devotion of their prelates. From several authorities in our possession we now select a few, to prove what to many, indeed, may appear unnecessary—that Ireland was Catholic during the whole reign of Elizabeth. From the report of the privy council in 1565, it appears, "That as for religion (i. e. Protestant) there was but small appearance of it; the churches were uncovered and the clergy scattered.* In 1576, inquiry was made into the ecclesiastical state of the country, and scarcely any churches or officiating curates could be found. The people had not adopted the Protestant religion, and the Roman Catholic clergy had either fled or had been expelled from their places. A commission was therefore appointed to rectify this deplorable state of ecclesiastical affairs."† In the same year, Sydney writes to the queen, "If this be the state of the Church in the best peopled diocess (Meath) and best governed cuntrye of this your realme, easye it is for your majestie to conjecture in what case the rest is,—where little or no reformation of religion (i. e. Protestant) or manners hath yet been planted and contynude among them."‡ It is a lamentable thing, writes Sir John Perrott to the queen, in 1582, "How generally, in that realme, they are so far off not only from true, but also in effect from any knowledge (i. e. Protestant) at all of God, that St. Patrick (the old religion) is more familiar and of better credit with them than Christ our Saviour (as preached by the English). How can a people so estranged from God (i. e. Protestantism) have any grace to know their lawful prince and their duty to her."§ To remedy these evils he proposes, in 1585, to induce the people to come to church, "he fyrst begynneth with religion, and therefor he addresseth

* Cox, p. 319.

† Leland, v. ii. 321.

‡ Cox and Hooker, cit. Stewart, p. 266.

§ Perrott's Letter to the Queen, 1582.

his letters unto the buyshopes and prelates of the best account, *especially those within the pale*, for the repayer of the decayed churches, whereby the people might, *in time*, be the better induced to repayer unto them to heare divine service.”* Spenser “says, therefore, the fault which I find in religion is but one—but the same is *universal* throughout all that country (Ireland)—that is, that they be all Papists by their profession;” and even though a good English minister should come, “what good can he effect amongst them by preaching or teaching to them which either cannot understand him or will not hear him.”† *He* also wished to allure the Irish to church by making the churches comfortable; “next care in religion is to build up and repair all the ruined churches, whereof most part lie even with the ground, and some that have been lately repaired are so unhandsomely patched and thatched, that men do even shun the places for the uncomliness, thereof.”‡ It is strange, that the poet could have supposed the Irish would have any objection to a thatched church, since he acknowledges that they followed their persecuted priests. “who, lurking secretly in houses and in corners of the country, did more hurt and hindrance to religion (Protestant) than all the others could do good by their public instructions.”§ Finally, in 1599, Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, commences his proclamation to his countrymen—“Using hitherto more than ordinary favour towards all my countrymen, both for that you are generally by your profession Catholics, and that naturally I am inclined to assist you, I have for these and other considerations abstained my forces from attempting to do you hinderance, and the rather for that I did expect, in process of time, you would enter into consideration of the lamentable estate of your poor country, most tyrannically oppressed, and of your own gentle consciences—in helping the enemies of God, and our country, in wars infallibly tending to the promotion of heresies.”|| It is well known how this appeal to religion and to their country was answered by the Irish Catholics. The Catholic Earl of Thomond, with one thousand of his men, was engaged in Mountjoy’s army when Tyrone was defeated at Kinsale, and the very first in Mountjoy’s lines were the Earl of Clanrickard, Fleming, and Taaffe, all Catholics.¶

The proofs already adduced we think amply sufficient to

* Deedes and Death of Perrott, p. 192. † Spenser, State of Ireland, p. 134.

‡ Spenser, State of Ireland, p. 247.

§ Ibid. p. 246.

|| Leland, v. ii. p. 364.

¶ Fynes Morrison, p. 6, 45, 49, vol. ii.

show that Mr. Palmer is a very bad authority on Irish ecclesiastical affairs. Nothing could be further from the truth than his picture of the tranquil submission of the inferior clergy, generally, to the parliamentary creed, and the docile attendance of the people to their pastors, *every where* reading the parliamentary service. It is a fact as well known as any in Irish history, that Ireland had scarcely any knowledge of the English language in the reign of Elizabeth. It is asserted by some of our writers that English was not known outside the walls of Dublin; this assertion may appear too strong to those unacquainted with the prevalence of Irish, even in the large towns of the south, within the memory almost of the present generation. It was expressly acknowledged by the parliament of 1560, that in most parts of Ireland priests could not be found who had the use of the English language, and that this was true, not only of the remote counties, but also of the pale, and even of the most English portion of the pale, is evident from the report made by Sydney, in 1576, of the state of the diocese of Meath, seventeen years after the accession of Elizabeth. Out of one hundred and two vicars, attached to one hundred and two churches in that diocese, only eighteen could speak English. If we allow for the seventeen years which had elapsed since the establishment of Protestantism, and consider the professed preference given from the very beginning to those who could speak English—a preference expressly ratified by act of Parliament eight years before, in 1568—it will not be too much to assert, in 1560 that there was not one person in these hundred and two parishes who could speak English. Sydney, it is true, asserts that there were in the same diocese fifty-two other parish churches better served; but adds, significantly, “badly.” If such were the case in the diocese of Meath, “the best governed and *most civilized* portion of all Ireland”—if Hugh Brady, the Protestant bishop, after thirteen years’ incumbency, could not find, to supply the places of the Catholic priests who fled, more than eighteen persons who knew English, there is decisive evidence that, though the priests of Ireland had all consented to read the Protestant service in 1560, their ignorance of English must have presented, for a considerable time, to almost all, an insuperable obstacle. How was this obstacle to be removed? The only plan permitted by the principles of the new religion, was the translation of the English liturgy into Irish, in order not to incur the guilt of adopting, in religious service, the use of an unknown tongue; “a custom in Protestant principles plainly repugnant to the word of God, and to the practice of the primitive Church.”

But it was treason to speak Irish; and was the liturgy to speak treason? Irish type, it was said, could not be found in the country, nor men to read the Irish, if printed. Accordingly, the Irish parliament of 1560, in its omnipotence, dispenses with the Divine law; and by a provision, "plainly repugnant to the practice of the primitive Church," sanctions the use of a Latin version of the English prayer, in those places where ministers could not be found having the use of the English language. "But in what way was the Latin version to be printed? was it by public authority? Of that there are no traces of information; nor does it at all appear probable. Was a translation, then, from English into Latin, to be made by each individual minister? Was each minister, then, sufficiently conversant with English to be able to translate from that tongue—if so, why could he not use it as prescribed in the English service? Was each minister sufficiently conversant with Latin to be able to translate into that language? Yet this is hardly consistent with the character of ignorance and illiteracy ascribed to very many of the clergy." Thus reasons Dr. Mant, to prove, we suppose, that the liturgy was not translated into Latin, either by public or by private authority; and that the parliamentary provision for a Latin version was generally at least as dead a letter as the instructions of deputy Croft, in the days of King Edward, for publishing scriptures and liturgy in the Irish tongue. With these facts before his eyes, how has Mr. Palmer asserted that all the clergy of Ireland were reading, until the arrival of Primate Creagh, "the sacred offices" of the English Church? Did congregations who knew nothing of English assemble to hear vicars stammer through a liturgy, of which vicars themselves were equally ignorant? Connect all that has been said, and the full truth flashes on the mind. We see why the churches had fallen to ruin in the most peaceable parts of the kingdom—why *our* historians have almost with one voice asserted that the people were left without any public instruction. The public celebration of the Catholic worship was proscribed wherever English governors could punish; and the churches abandoned by the people, and plundered* by the "horseboy"† vicars appointed to serve them, presented, even in the diocese of Meath, one heap of ruins before the year 1576.‡ The annals of the world scarcely contain a more glaring instance of self-condemned guilt and folly than this Irish Reformation. In order to stock the Irish Church

* Leland, v. ii. p. 274.

+ Spenser.

† Leland, v. ii. p. 221.

with vicars of "English habit and English language," the parliament of 1568 vested the appointment of almost all the livings of Munster and Connaught in the secular deputy of the kingdom; and at the same time, to prepare the people to profit by the instructions of the English vicars, munificently provides that in the shire town of each diocese there shall be *one English schoolmaster*, to teach the whole diocese English!!! Then, as ever since, a selfish and spiritless instrument, and slave of anti-Irish policy, the Established Church, denied her own doctrine, and renounced her only chance of success, by warring against the unparliamentary language of the people. While we bless that Providence which removed temptation from the Irish, and decreed that the language of St. Aidan and St. Columba should never speak Protestantism, we hold up to well-deserved contempt the self-convicted clergy who fattened on the revenues of the Church, while they could not speak the language of the nation.

Having disposed of the country parts of Ireland, let us proceed to enquire into the state of religion in the towns, during the reign of Elizabeth. Without one single exception, the towns continued stedfastly loyal to the English crown; and whoever doubts that they continued universally Catholic down to 1603, can easily satisfy himself of the truth, by consulting either Morryson or Cox on the proceedings at the accession of James. Were the affirmative and negative provisions for public worship enforced in those towns during the reign of Elizabeth? Were Catholics compelled, by pecuniary fines, to attend the Protestant worship? and was the private celebration of Catholic worship proscribed, according to the statutes of 1560? These questions could be answered satisfactorily on general principles, even though we had no direct evidence to solve them. There is every reason to suppose that those who would not take the oath of obedience would be equally unwilling to hear Protestant service; that the Catholic judges who filled the bench, notwithstanding the second of Elizabeth, would be absent from church, notwithstanding the second of Elizabeth. It would appear natural that Elizabeth would enforce "obedience" more rigorously than conformity, and that she who, according to the Catholic lords in 1612 had "but sparingly executed the statute of obedience"* against the inhabitants of the towns and of the pale, would sparingly execute the statute of conformity against the same persons, had they shown any decided repugnance thereto.

* Leland, v. ii. p. 444.

Indulgence to the towns was certainly in accordance with Elizabeth's policy. Through her wars she had the active support of the priests of English extraction,* who encouraged their flocks to defend her throne against the risings of the native Irish and of the *degenerate* English; and however anxious she certainly was to banish every priest from the kingdom, it is not at all probable that she would prevent the *loyal* English priests from celebrating, privately, for the equally loyal inhabitants of the towns. These remarks, supported by the decided repugnance of the Irish to the English liturgy in the reign of Edward, are, we think, sufficient to prove that the town churches were not frequented by the people, and that the private celebration of Catholic worship was connived at. So little noise did the statutes of 1560 make in the towns, that the remonstrants raised doubts of their authenticity, and complained of the deplorable condition to which they were then (1642) reduced, by a statute of the second of Elizabeth, found among the records, but never executed in the queen's time, nor discovered till most of the members of that parliament were dead.† The answerers admit that the statutes were not published until the sixteenth year of the queen, and that they were then executed, as appears by the records, but sparingly.‡ The statute of conformity was certainly sometimes executed in Elizabeth's reign, for in 1578 we find the infamous Drury executing, by the law of nature, says Cox, a black-a-moor and two witches in the city of Kilkenny; and, contrary to the law of nature, binding in a recognizance of forty pounds, several of the most respectable citizens of the same town to attend church.§ Mc Geoghegan tells us that the statutes were not enforced until after the defeat of the armada;|| and we know that shortly after that event a high commission court was established in Dublin, to inspect and reform all offences against the second of Elizabeth; but so universal was the disaffection caused through the whole kingdom, from the apprehension of having what was done in Dublin extended to other places, that Mountjoy took speedy measures to relieve the citizens of Dublin from the inquisitorial injustice of the commission, and allowed them the same toleration they had enjoyed, almost uninterruptedly, from the commencement of Elizabeth's reign.¶ We select a few authorities, to shew the state of religion in the different towns. It can be scarcely necessary

* Cox, p. 445.

§ Cox, A.D. 1578.

+ Ibid. Appen. Art. i. 8.

|| Vol. iii. p. 385.

‡ Cox, vi. Appen.

¶ Leland, v. ii. p. 381.

to say that the good citizens of Limerick did not frequent the Protestant services so long as they had their Catholic bishop, Hugh Lacy, in his see, and Leverous, the deprived bishop of Kildare, teaching school in their city.* When Mountjoy appeared before the city of Waterford, after the accession of James, he says, "he comes to establish his majesties laws, that no *public* or contemptuous breach be made of them; wherein, he adds, we wish you had been more wary, contenting yourself with the *long and favourable toleration* you enjoyed during the late queen's reign."† To a letter from the same lord deputy, about the same period, the citizens of Cork answer, "that they had received a rebuke from his lordship concerning certain insolencies, but could not call to mind any particular wherein they had offended the state, except that be an offence, after many abuses and wrongs done to them, to keep watch for his majesty, and hold the city in those doubtful times; that, touching the point of religion, they only exercised now publicly *that which ever before they had been suffered to exercise privately.*"‡ In his letters to the other towns—Clonmel, Wexford, Kilkenny, &c. &c.—he represses only the public exercise of the Catholic worship. To these suffice it to add, that, in the city of Dublin itself, the seat of government, mass was celebrated in 1565, and popish priests and friars were found to dissent at the very time that, according to Mr. Palmer, all Ireland was peacefully frequenting the sacred offices of the Protestants. "There had been meetings," says Ware "of popish fryars and priests in the city of Dublin. A proclamation was published prohibiting those meetings, and ordering that no fryar or priest should be found within the walls of the city. Also a tax was laid on every housekeeper who omitted coming to church on Sunday, and it was collected exactly, so that many came to church (not from love of Protestantism), but rather than they would pay that tax. At first they went to mass in the morning, and to church in the evening." If dissent and recusancy had not been so universal as to make the continued collection of the tax dangerous, and, consequently, to oblige government to discontinue it, the answerers to the remonstrance would have been able to produce some

* After his expulsion from his see, Leverous was for a time protected by the Countess of Desmond. Being obliged to leave her, he supported himself by teaching school in Limerick, whence he removed to Naas. It is to be hoped that the gratitude of the Earl of Kildare, made some provision for the old age of the venerable confessor, who, by saving the sole remaining heir of the family of Earl Thomas, rescued the northern Geraldines from the hapless fate of their kinsmen of the south.

† Morrison, v. ii. p. 320.

‡ Leland, v. ii. p. 414.

proofs of the enforcement of the act of uniformity before the sixteenth year of Elizabeth.

We had intended to examine Mr. Palmer's account of the means by which the Catholic religion was sustained during Elizabeth's reign. These are, as we have already observed, the gross ignorance of the people, and several savage insurrections. But we feel that we could not at present do sufficient justice to the memory of those much maligned and zealous men, who lost their lives in arms during the several risings of the people. The true state of Ireland from 1560 down to 1603, the causes of its disturbances, the motives of the different leaders, and the influence of religion, would require, for full explanation, more time than we have at present at our disposal. We scarcely need say that we do not regret being obliged to defer that part of our task. He for whom Providence reserved the glory of presenting the olive of peace to our long oppressed Church, is the only one who can represent in its true colours the political state of Ireland at that period when legal tyranny, bigotry, and military force first riveted the chains which he alone could burst.

The most disagreeable part of our duty still remains. Mr. Palmer thus describes the origin of the *schism* (the Catholic religion) in the reign of Elizabeth: "Originating in the exhortations and impostures of foreign emissaries, addressed to a superstitious, an ignorant, and a credulous people, it was fomented by the arrival of usurping and intrusive bishops, sent by the Roman pontiff, and completed amidst rebellion and massacre, stimulated by the unholy ministers of the new communion." These are, assuredly, heavy accusations, and, if true, the people of Ireland must have been in the most deplorable state during the whole reign of Elizabeth, for the character of the clergy sent to reform them, and establish the new religion, was so unlike the character of ministers of the Christian religion, that no man following the lights of Christian prudence could conscientiously follow them. In self-defence, we offer the character of the Elizabethan Church, as drawn either by her own ministers, or by her devoted partizans. We could not trust our own feelings, were we to give in our own language the substance of the following extracts. "The clergy are generally bad, licentious, and most disordered."* "Whatever disorders you see in the Established Church in England, you may find here, and much more,—namely, grosse simony, greedy covetousness, flesh inconti-

* Spenser's State of Ireland.

nency, careless sloath, and generally all disordered life in the common clergymen.* "Wherein it is great wonder to see the odds which is between the zeal of the popish priests and the *ministers of the Gospel*, for they spare not to come out of Spain, from Rome, and from Remes, by long toil and dangerous travelling hither, where they know certain peril of death awaiteth them, and no reward or riches to be found, only to draw the people into the Church of Rome; whereas some of our idle ministers, having a way for credit and estimation.....and the livings of the country offered to them, will neither for the same, nor for any love of God, be drawn forth from their warm nests."† "Some of the bishops do not at all bestow the benefices which are in their donation upon any, but keep them in their own hands, and set their own servants and horseboys to take up the tythes and fruits of them, with the which some of them purchase great lands, and build fair castles upon the same."‡ "They neither read scriptures, nor preach to the people, nor administer the communion."§ According to Sydney, Elizabeth's lay legate, in 1576, "The Church is foul, deformed, and cruelly crushed; upon the face of the earth, where Christ is professed, there is not a Church in so miserable a case; the misery of which consisted in these three particulars,—the ruine of the very temples themselves, the want of good ministers to serve in them, and competent living for the ministers. One hundred and five churches of the diocese of Meath are impropriated to sundry possessions, now of your highness, and all leased out for years, or in see farmes, to several farmers, and great gaine reaped out of them beyond *the rent which your majestie receiveth*. Great spoile is made of the archbishoprics and bishoprics, partly by the prelates themselves,"—imitating, of course, the example of the head of their Church. "For the ministers of the churches of the English pale of your own inheritance, be contented, *most vertuous queene*, that some convenient portion for a minister may be allowed to hym, out of the farmers' rents,—it will not be much loss to you in revenue." To remedy these dreadful evils, and put a stop to the Reformation, "I wishe that there may be three or four grave, learned, and venerable personages of the clergy there sent hither.....to see the enormities of this overthrowne Church; they be riche enough, and if either they be thankful to your majestie.....or zealous to encrease the Christian flocke, they will not refuse this reli-

* Spenser's Hist. of Ireland, p. 139.

† Ibid. p. 132.

+ Ibid. p. 247.

§ Ibid. p. 132.

gious travell: I will undertake their gudyngge honourably and safely from place to place.”* “The most part of such English ministers as came over here are either unlearned or of bade note, for which they have forsaken England.”† To this testimony of eye-witnesses of the frightful Reformation, we shall add the modern judgment of a “devoted member” of the church established—the judgment of a Fellow of Trinity College, and the still higher authority of Dr. Mant. The clergymen imported into Ireland by the government were, for the most part, needy adventurers, as bankrupt in reputation as they were in fortune. They were collected from the candidates who had been refused admission to the English Church, and sent over, like a band of conscripts, to Ireland. A few made some exertions to discharge their duty, but the difference of language was a stumbling block which they had not the industry to remove; the rest paid no regard to the matter: they collected their revenues, where the authority of government was supported by the presence of a military force; where that protection was wanting, they abandoned the field to the native clergy, and contented themselves with petitioning the government against the horrid abuse of allowing their tithes to be devoted to the support of popery. “It is painful to dwell on the sins of omission and commission of the Church of England, of which the writer is a devoted member, but it is worse than useless to disguise the truth. Its establishment in Ireland exhibits the most flagrant instances of both positive and negative delinquency.”‡ “The Christian methods of Reformation were sacrificed to the scheme of discouraging that language in which alone the body of the people could have received instruction, as there were few churches to resort to, few teachers to exhort and instruct, *fewer still who could be understood*, and almost all—at least for the greater part of this reign—of scandalous inefficiency.”§ To this general climax of Dr. Leland, we shall add the hideous picture of episcopal depravity drawn by Dr. Mant, who, with an intrepidity becoming his high station, as *successor* of St. Malachy, exposes to public gaze the incurable corruption and premature decrepitude of the Elizabethan Church: “That at the head of the Church, and in the offices of her ministry, had been placed men of distinguished zeal, ability, and knowledge suitable to the exigency of the times, may have been the case, but it does not satisfactorily appear.”|| But it does

* Leland, v. ii. p. 320, 321.

† Taylor's Civil Wars, v. i. p. 176.

† Spenser.

§ Leland, v. ii. p. 321.

|| Mant's Hist. p. 281, 282, 280, 379, 341.

appear, that Curwen of Dublin was accused by primate Loftus of open crimes, and that with a blasted reputation, "labouring under heavy moral imputations, he was removed to the see of Oxford."* It also appears, "that the abuse of episcopal property was so enormous, as to oblige the lord deputy Sydney to interfere, in order to save, if possible, Church lands and estates from waste and alienation. But whatever means may have been used, they failed of producing the desired effect, for at times, subsequent, as well as antecedent to this instruction, several cases are on record, some of which may be cited as examples of the enormity." Between 1560 and 1564, Craik, bishop of Kildare, and successor of Leverous, exchanged almost all the lands and manors of the bishopric for some titles of little value. In 1582, Allen of Ferns made long leases of many farms, reserving small rents, and committed many wastes on the lands of the see; about the same time, Cavanagh of Leighlin treated the property of his bishopric in like manner, leaving it in such a naked condition, as to be *scarce worth any one's acceptance*.† Archbishop M'Grath made most scandalous wastes and alienations of the revenues belonging to Cashel; and Lynch, Bishop of Elphin, so wasted and destroyed it by alienations and fee farms, and other means, that he left it not worth two hundred marks. These examples are bad enough, but they are outdone by other cases cited by primate Bramhall, who particularizes one see as left by its possessor so impoverished, that it had but forty shillings of yearly revenue.‡ Visitation books tell the sex and character of the receivers of the plundered Church property: and we know they were not always the bishops' wives. Thus, in all its degrees—from the horseboy vicar, who built fine castles for himself, up to Elizabeth, who farmed for her own use the lands of one hundred and five parish churches in the diocese of Meath—the Church was covered with an universal leprosy of avarice and of revolting profligacy,—disorders never checked by synod, nor reproved by bishop, because sanctioned by the example of the *head of the Church*. The transfer and plunder of ecclesiastical property were the only Reformation effected at the death of Elizabeth; for, with the exception of the plantation of a few English families, the perversion of fewer still Irish families, and the billeting of some clerical families on a people "brayed by famine, pestilence, and the sword," Ireland was, at the accession of James, universally Catholic.

* Mant's Hist. p. 281, 282, 280, 397, 341.

† Were Leighlin souls worth nothing, Dr. Mant?

For not obeying the dumb voice of these corrupt Elizabethan pastors, the vengeance of heaven fell upon the people of Ireland, not to the third and fourth only, but down to the present generation; "the whole history of Ireland, from the period of the Reformation down to the present day, affording," says Mr. Palmer, "a terrible example of the retribution which grievous sins draw down upon the descendants of guilty." In a country where "the Protestant interest," penal laws, and the sanction of the most holy Name had not been so often profanely identified, the man who would dare to use language like Mr. Palmer's, would be cited before the ecclesiastical tribunals. As he is a churchman, we propose for his meditation some examples of terrible retribution, in the spiritual order: 1. "It may be observed in general of the Reformed communities in Switzerland, France, and the United Provinces, that they have too generally fallen away into the Socinian or Arian heresies."* 2. Also, "That infidelity became dreadfully prevalent among the Protestants of Germany and Denmark, in the course of the last and present centuries; the universities were full of it, the ministers of religion tainted with it, and the Lutheran faith seems under an eclipse, from whence we fervently pray that it may be delivered."† Weigh well these judgments, Mr. Palmer, taken from your own works; and then pray, that of the small number which the Church of England is able to save from "soul-killing" dissent, or atheistic ignorance, the men may be as patient,‡ the women as chaste,§ and all as temperate and as generously zealous, as the children of the Catholic Church of Ireland.

ART. VII.—1. *Allocuzione della Santità di Nostro Signore Gregorio PP. XVI al Sacro Collegio, nel Consistoro segreto del 22 Luglio, 1842; seguita da una Esposizione corredata di documenti, &c.* [Allocation of His Holiness Pope Gregory XVI to the Sacred College, in the secret Consistory of the 22d of July 1842; followed by a statement, supported by documents, on the unceasing efforts made by His Holiness to remedy the grievous calamities with which the Catholic religion is afflicted in the imperial and royal States of Russia and Poland. Rome: printing-office of the Secretaryship of State. 1842.]

2. *Persécutions et Souffrances de l'Eglise Catholique en Russie.*

* Palmer's Ecc. Hist, p. 245.

+ Ibid. 243.

† Lord Morpeth.

Ouvrage appuyé de Documents inédits. Par un ancien Conseiller d'Etat de Russie, Chevalier des ordres de Saint Stanislas, Sainte Anne, et Saint Wladimir. 8vo. pp. 445. Paris : Gaume Frères. 1842.

3. *Die neuesten Zustände der katholischen Kirche beider Ritus in Polen und Russland seit Katharina II bis auf unsere Tage.* Von einem Priester aus der Kongregation des Oratoriums des heil. Philippus Neri. [Modern History of the Catholic Church of both Rites (Latin and Ruthenian), in Poland and Russia, from Catharine II down to our days. By an Oratorian priest of the Congregation of St. Philip Neri (Dr. Theiner.) 2 vols. 8vo. Augsburg. 1842.]

IT is the lot of Christ's Church to be ever an object of persecution; and kings and emperors, who should of right be its foster-fathers and guardians, are too often, if not generally, the authors of such trials. These persecutions vary in character and in instruments. There is a persecution of violence, and a persecution of cunning; there is a persecution which attempts to crush, and one which seeks to extinguish; there is a persecution *en masse*, and there is a persecution in detail; there is a persecution which breaks and bruises, and one which wearies and sickens to death; there is, in fine, a persecution which destroys the body, and there is one which strives to weary, to pervert, and to kill the soul. Which is the worse? Surely not that in which the mask is thrown off, and the sword unsheathed, and the poison poured out from a labelled phial: better, far better, is this than the covert, artful, and disguised hatred, which strikes with the sceptre instead,—yea, with the golden sceptre of affected clemency,—and dribbles out its hemlock under the name of medicine. The first of these was the persecution of those sad blunderers at their work, the Roman emperors. They put a bold face upon their cruel designs; they openly avowed their intention of extinguishing the Christian name throughout their empire; they issued decrees to that effect; and they most injudiciously displayed their racks and cauldrons in the public squares. An open enemy can be boldly met;—thousands of generous champions came forward; their numbers wearied persecution's edge; their blood, which flew round from the tormentor's or executioner's stroke, was of a baptismal efficacy,—whom it touched it seemed to cleanse; and it was found that the axe was the best pruning-knife of the Lord's vineyard, and disciples' blood its most fruitful seed. Experience taught worldly, or rather worse than worldly wisdom. The apostate Julian was the first scholar in this evil disci-

pline, and the Arian persecutors followed it to advantage. To sap and undermine, to wear and to weary, to remove, under specious pleas, strong-minded and conscientious adversaries; to send—not to the scaffold, oh no!—but to the gentle labours of the Chersonesan mines (the Siberia of the empire), or to the wild seclusion of the Pontian island, such refractory bishops as dared to despise imperial edicts, and to place weak and timid, or ambitious and servile, minds in their place; to make ecclesiastical matters the subject of cold-blooded, meddling, and arbitrary state enactments; such was the policy which, too successfully tried by ancient autocrats, has given the rule and the ready plan to heretical despots of succeeding ages, who wish to destroy the Church of God, with all the air of kind and conscientious protectors. Into the Grecian character, of old so stamped with double dealing and breach of faith, the perfidy of the intriguing and worthless Photius seems to have kneaded a still more bitter leaven,—that of religious cunning and duplicity, wherever the interests of his unhappy schism came into contact with the claims, however just, of the true spouse of Christ. Even the favour of Turk or infidel has been basely courted, to oppress the Catholics of the east; money has been lavished to purchase persecution on the poor Armenians or United Greeks at Constantinople; Mahound and Termagaunt have seemed worthy of worship, if they would only help to crush the pope and his adherents.

There wanted only one ingredient more to give these unenviable attributes full play—power and strength to second the designs of religious animosity. What a noble field for the dark and subtle arts of him who entertains it, would an empire be,—one, too, in which scarce a limit is placed to the arbitrariness of tyranny, and where national feelings could be brought to conspire with religious ones, in reconciling the majority of the population to the grinding, crushing oppression of a helpless minority,—where political antipathies could be worked in alliance with ecclesiastical estrangement! The vast, overgrown, heterogeneous combination of various races, tribes, and hordes, which Providence has been pleased to permit in modern times, under the name of the Russian Empire, has unhappily been able to make the tremendous experiment. It is the manner in which it has been conducted, from its commencement till the present period, that will occupy us in this paper. For, unfortunately, too many imagine that Russian oppression has been confined to generous, but fallen Poland, or that it has arisen under the iron sway of the

thoroughly Russian-hearted Nicholas. In other words, the persecution which has been avowedly carried on against Catholics in that empire, has been looked on as one of a political, rather than of a religious character; and thus, neither its extent nor its duration, — neither its wide-spreading calamity nor its wearing length, has been duly appreciated. Again, — we have been left to pick up our acquaintance with this heavy and galling scourge, only through the chance notice of some of its cruel strokes by the periodical press; and we hardly know, at least so as to heed it, that it has been wielded for half a century with equal violence, excepting some intervals of peace. From the unwomanly reign of Catharine II to that of the present emperor, it has worked, with the regularity of a machine, up and down, — ascending to excite hopes, and falling down to crush them, — with unwearying perseverance of evil purpose. Cunning has raised it, that cruelty might better impel it down.

In unfolding the sad history from the documents before us, our object is to excite sympathy, not hatred. In every conflict of the Church with her enemies, when they prevail for a season, a double object is presented to our feelings. "In ejus glorioso agone duo nobis præcipue consideranda sunt; indurata videlicet tortoris sævitia et martyris invicta patientia: sævitia tortoris ut eam detestemur; patientia martyris ut eam imitamur." (S. Aug.) But if by our narrative we shall occasionally excite the more painful of these feelings, it is not for them that we write. We wish every Catholic heart to grieve, to admire, to excuse, by turns, our brethren so long worried, persecuted, and tormented; to strengthen that bond of charity which unites us to the Church, and forms, by its delicate fibres, that nerve through which the thrilling sensation of Catholic sympathy vibrates, from member to member of the mystical body of Christ.

We must premise a few words respecting the works from which our materials will be derived. The first on our list is above either our praise or our censure. It is an authentic document emanating from the highest authority in the Church; its assertions have been carefully weighed; its expressions accurately measured; its tone and manner scrupulously regulated. Nothing is advanced without its voucher, and no charge made which severe justice will not approve. It, however, confines itself chiefly to the later calamities of the Catholic Church in Russia; and valuable as its documentary evidence is, it does not enable us to survey the long annals of

blood and crime which modern Russian Church history presents. The French work upon our list we must acknowledge to be, in some respects, a disappointing one. Not that it contains not enough to arouse our feelings, whether of sympathy or indignation, or documents sufficient to justify its heavy charges; but that its tone is sometimes more declamatory than we could have wished, and that far the greater portion of the volume is taken up with doctrinal arguments, and a history of the Greek schism, which is not what we expect on taking up the volume. But with all these imperfections, Catholics have reason to be grateful for the work, which has been very well received on the continent. The work of Father Theiner is the result of that great research which is to be found in all his works, and which becomes the continuator of Baronius and Raynaldus. It enters most minutely into details; gives the biography of the principal actors in the scenes which it describes; makes use of local memoirs and rare publications, as well as of official documents, and thus presents a full and comprehensive, as well as a painfully finished, view of the eventful history of religion in Russia. At the same time, he writes with an earnestness, a feeling, and a warmth, which engages the heart as well as the understanding of his readers, in the sacred cause of truth and virtue. We shall therefore follow him chiefly as our guide.

It is not necessary for us to enter into any account of the earlier condition of religion in the Russian empire, before it obtained this title, and when it was only an inferior principality, further than to contradict an idea which we believe to be very prevalent—that the Church of Russia is an offspring of the schismatical Greek Church of Constantinople, and has been, ever since its origin, separated from the communion of the apostolic see. This is an error. The holy patriarch, St. Ignatius, was the first whom the Russians recognized. From his time (A.D. 867) till about 1120, no trace is discoverable of any breach of communion between the Russian Church and the holy see; although attempts have been made, by means of documents bearing on them the clear stamp of modern Greek forgery, to prove an earlier alienation. About that time, the metropolitan Nicephorus I, a Greek from Constantinople, composed a treatise against Rome. But it produced no effect: neither clergy nor laity took part with him in his views; Latin priests came freely into the country to assist in the labours of the Church; and the Russian communion to this day commemorates, on the 6th of August,

the virtues of Abbot Anthony, *the Roman*, who, coming from Lubeck to Novogorod, established, two wersts distant from the city, the convent which bears his name. In fine, with occasional and temporary interruptions, such as happened even in the western countries of Europe during the middle ages, Russia continued in communion with Rome till the fifteenth century: so that its defection may, with historical accuracy, be thrown into the mass of schism which, about and after that period, was allowed, in the unsearchable judgments of God, to detach itself from the Rock of Peter. We need not enter into particulars; it can hardly be necessary to say, that when the miserable event did occur, craft, ambition, avarice, haughtiness, and every other vice, were the qualities displayed by those who caused and forwarded it. In 1415 a division took place in the heart of the Russian Church. In consequence of the deposition, by the bishops of a part of Russia, of the worthless patriarch Photias, and the election in his place of Gregory Zamblak, the Church became divided into two parts, or rather two patriarchates, that of Moscow and that of Kiew. To the latter adhered the bishoprics of Bransk, Smolensk, Peremuischel, Turow, Luzk, Wladimir, in Volhynia, Polozk, Chelnisk, and Haliz. The former continued to be held by Photias, the enemy of the Latins. A few years later, the two sees were again united in the person of Isidore, whom the good patriarch Joseph sent from Constantinople into Russia, as metropolitan of both. Devoted, like him who sent him, to the great object of restoring the separated parts of Russia to Catholic communion, he obtained leave from prince Wassili III to proceed to the Council of Florence, which had begun its sittings at Ferrara, for the purpose of reuniting the east and west. On his return in 1439, he arrived at Buda, and now bearing the title of Apostolic Legate, sent before him a pastoral, communicating the happy intelligence that the union had been accomplished. It opens with these joyful words: "Rejoice ye in the Lord! The Eastern and Roman Churches have entered into a perpetual unity, and have restored their ancient peace and harmony. All ye good Christians of the Constantinopolitan Church, ye Russians, Servians, Walachians, all who believe in Christ, accept this holy alliance with jubilee and rejoicing. Be from henceforward true Christian brethren of the Roman Church. There is now only one God, and one Church! May peace and love ever reign among you!"*

* Theiner, p. 54.

In Kiew and its dependencies Isidore was received with triumph and joy; in Moscow with very different feelings. He boldly faced all dangers, and proceeded thither in the following spring. He entered processionally the Church of Our Lady in the Kremlin, and, after mass, the deacon from the pulpit read the decree of union passed at Florence. The people listened in silence, and gave no sign of satisfaction. The prince received with coldness from Isidore's hands an autograph letter from the pope, said he would hear of no such union, and seizing the person of the patriarch put him in confinement. After two years' durance he escaped to Rome, received much honourable employment, and died patriarch elect of Constantinople in 1463, universally respected, and was buried in St. Peter's. The two sees of Kiew and Moscow were separated once more: the former remained faithful to Rome, the latter was the head of the schism. But, unhappily, before 1520 the unceasing efforts of the see of Moscow had prevailed, and the whole of Russia was plunged into the same unhappy condition.

Shortly after this event, an occurrence took place which considerably affected the position of the Russian Church. Jeremias II, patriarch of Constantinople, drained the resources of his see in out-bribing his competitors, Metrophanes III, Pachomius and Theolept, to gain the interest of the Porte, chiefly through the influence of the harem. It was one of the most disgraceful struggles for church preferment that has disfigured the annals of even that Church, in which, with the exception of those bishops who kept communion with Rome, the most worthless succession of prelates for centuries held sway. After being several times imprisoned and deposed, Jeremias prevailed in the unholy contest, crushed his rivals, or pensioned them off, and found himself sole patriarch, with an exhausted treasury, and a large debt. He determined to appeal to the charity of his fellow Greeks, and took a journey into Russia to solicit contributions. Here he agreed to consecrate the newly appointed archbishop Job, and to bestow upon him the patriarchal dignity. The consecration took place at Moscow, in the Kremlin; but the tsar reserved to himself the right of conferring the patriarchate. He, with his own hands, invested him with splendid robes, put a white mitre upon his head, and delivered to him the patriarchal staff: then addressed him in these solemn words: "Most holy father, most worthy patriarch! father of all fathers, first bishop in all Russia, patriarch of all

Russia, &c.! Hereby I command and announce to thee that thou hast precedence of all bishops, that henceforward thou shalt wear the robes of a patriarch, the coif of a bishop and the kalabuk or mitre, and that every one in my dominion shall honour thee as patriarch, and brother of the other patriarchs."

How much alike are all tyrants of the Church! How natural that speech would be in the mouth of Henry VIII, addressed to Cranmer. Not that the prince himself was evil-disposed, for he is described as of a mild and gentle disposition, but he was under the influence of those who made the Church subservient to mere worldly purposes. Jeremias sold this dignity for a large sum of money: his companion and impartial chronicler, who has written a journal of the expedition—Dorotheus, of Monembasia—foresaw even then its consequences; the more immediate one of the separation of the southern from the northern bishoprics, and the more remote one of the entire defection of Russia from obedience to Constantinople.* Thus was the Russian patriarchate simoniacally established in 1589. God, however, from this evil drew forth splendid good. During a period immediately preceding the one which we have reached, the Church of Russia had been subjected to the brutal tyranny of as great a monster as ever disgraced a throne, Iwan IV. He had plundered the clergy, butchered priests and religious to the number of five hundred with great barbarity; sewed up Leonidas, archbishop of Novogorod, in a bear's skin, and had him worried by dogs, for refusing to unite him to a fourth wife contrary to the Greek canons (he had three more after her), murdered his own son, and massacred, in the course of his reign, sixty thousand people. Yet he held ecclesiastical synods, and presided and decreed—and, in fact, was the head of the Russian Church! He was, moreover, strongly infected with German reformation ideas. Again, we repeat, how alike all Church enslavers and oppressors are! It was his successor who created the first patriarch. In addition to these temporal calamities a frightful heresy had sprung up, attacking the very foundation of faith, impugning the very divinity of our Lord himself. The bishops who had formerly enjoyed the communion with the holy see, remembered how much happier their lot had been, than it was now in communion with so degraded and so corrupted a Church as was that of Russia; they remembered too, how strong a protection that

* Published at Venice in 1676.

communion had afforded them against the dissensions and heresies which were now assailing them. They sighed for return to their former happier state; and, with the generous resolution of the repentant prodigal, decided at once upon returning to their father's house. *Their language, too, may not be without a lesson for modern times.* They met under the metropolitan of Kiew, Michael Rahosa, and drew up a declaration of their wishes. They begin by observing, that "Christ our Lord had strongly enjoined unity in religion, and it is the duty of good shepherds to exert themselves to promote it; especially at a time when heresies are daily increasing, and men are even abandoning faith in the blessed Trinity. This proceeds from no other cause than their own separation from Rome; but although they had *prayed* constantly for unity in faith, they had not seriously taken steps to restore it, *looking as they did to their superiors, and waiting to see if they would begin to be desirous of such return to unity.* But not seeing them move, and seeing all hopes from them only diminish, they, moved by the Holy Spirit, considering, with immense grief, the evils resulting from want of union between churches, a union which from the time of the apostles, their predecessors had held (acknowledging one supreme pastor who was none other than the bishop of Rome); that so long as they had remained in unity with him, heresy had no power to hurt them or make inroads into their Church; but from the moment that new masters were established, discords and schisms had sprung up, whence heretics had derived new power; they had determined to return to the obedience of the holy see."* This interesting document is subscribed by the metropolitan, six bishops, and an archimandrite, and dated Dec. 2, 1594. The archbishop and several of his suffragans went in solemn deputation to Rome, and the reunion of a large body of Ruthenian Christians was completed, and confirmed by pope Clement VIII, in his constitution *Magnus Dominus*. Here was a noble example given, of how easily a Church, separated from the only true centre of unity, may, by a vigorous effort, return to it; and here, moreover, is proposed to future times a lesson of wisdom and humility, as well as of firm faith, and true love of Catholic unity, in the conduct of these prelates who, rightly estimating the causes of the religious calamities which had visited their Church, lost no time in vigorously and completely

* Theiner, part ii. p. 8.

removing them, and regaining thereby their true position. Alas! we have lived to see the union, so happily and so cheerfully effected, miserably broken again asunder after more than two hundred years, by the arts and violence of the Russian autocrat.

The Churches thus united to the Catholic communion, will be known in this article, as the United Greek Church of Russia. Job, the patriarch of Moscow, and head of the schismatical Church, summoned a council, and launched his impotent censures against the union: but while Michael Rahosa enjoyed a tranquil government over it, and died at length in peace, leaving a name and memory "in blessing," Job heaped crime upon crime, crowned as tsar the murderer Godunow, became the tool of all his iniquities, and was at length imprisoned and strangled in 1604. Michael's successor, Joseph Rudski, was justly called by Pope Urban VIII the "Athanasius of Russia," and the "Atlas of the Union." He strenuously laboured to extend and consolidate it, in spite of endless sufferings, and even perils to his life. But though he escaped the cruel designs of the Russian schismatics, they found means to wreak their vengeance upon his friend, and fellow-labourer in the good work, Josaphat Kunceewicz, archbishop of Polozks. On the 12th of November 1623, a party of his enemies surprised him in bed, stabbed him with swords and other weapons in the most brutal manner, and after several hours' torment, chopped off his head. His body was ignominiously dragged through the streets by a mob of Russian clergy and laity, and cast into the Dnieper. The body, like that of St. John Nepomuccen, shone with a heavenly light, was taken out by the faithful, and carried in procession to the cathedral. God wrought daily miracles at his tomb, and he was duly beatified by Pope Urban in 1643.

These particulars we have deemed important, for properly introducing the later history of the Catholic Church in Russia. We only regret that we have been obliged to content ourselves with a meagre outline, where so much interesting incident would have allowed us more deeply to engage our reader's attention. We hasten forward to a most important epoch, the reign of Peter the Great. Well as he may be judged to have deserved this epithet for his legislative efforts, he would certainly have merited it, in its superlative degree, had he carried into execution, what, through

his life, was a fondly cherished desire,—the reunion of the Russians to the Catholic Church. To labour for this, he was encouraged by the Emperor Joseph I, and by his predecessor Leopold. One of his first steps was to admit the Jesuits and Capuchins freely into his states, allowing them to build houses and churches, and assisting the former to open a college, expressly for the education of the nobility of his empire. When the patriarch Adrian remonstrated with him, observing that by this means many would be led to embrace the religion of their instructors, he replied, “You are jealous of these good fathers, as you blockheads understand nothing about the education of youth. If in course of time, any of my young nobles embrace the Catholic religion, so much the better for them; I shall be very glad of it.” He gave permission to Catholic missionaries to pass through Russia to Turkey, and he sent a magnificent embassy to Rome, several members of which, and among them his friend General Sczremet, embraced the Catholic faith. Peter himself often assured his friends, that the time was not far distant, when the Roman and Russian Church should be but one; and to forward this great end, he held, in 1717, many conferences with the divines of the Sorbonne in Paris, upon the subject. In this noble design he was assisted and supported by his bosom friend, Bishop Stephen Jaworski, who was devoted heart and soul to Rome, and wrote a powerful work, not published till after his death, entitled *Petra fidei*, chiefly extracted from Bellarmine’s writings, and thoroughly Catholic. As he advanced in years, Peter became more and more earnest in this pursuit, and almost the day before his death he was engaged in struggling for it. But in vain. The prejudices of his ignorant clergy were too strong; they resisted all his efforts, and he punished them severely for it. After the death of the patriarch Adrian, he had resolutely refused to fill up the office. This no doubt he did advisedly: for he knew what an obstacle the existence of such an office in Russia would be to his favourite object. At length, in January 1720, he convoked a meeting of all the metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, of the national Church at Moscow, and strongly urged upon them the necessity of a reunion. They refused. Peter solemnly rose up, and with a stern mien pronounced these fatal words. “I know of no other true and lawful patriarch besides the patriarch of the west, the Bishop of Rome; and as you will not obey him,

from henceforth you shall obey me alone.”* With these words, he handed to them the statute already prepared, abolishing the patriarchal dignity, and appointing the “Most Holy Synod” (!) in its place. This is a sort of assembly like the upper house of convocation, composed of bishops, but presided over by an *Ober-procurator* or president, who is always a layman appointed by the emperor, often like the present one, Count Pratassow, an officer in the army. The synod is entirely under his control, and has little to do but to publish the wishes of the tsar in an ecclesiastical form, and give any decision which the imperial will may require. It is not many years since it pronounced valid and lawful the marriage of the grand duke Constantine with a second wife, his first being living, and quoted for its authority the eighth canon of the severe St. Basil. It is needless to add, that the canon has not a word to justify such an atrocious sanction.† By this creation of Peter’s, the Russian Church was thoroughly enslaved to the royal will, humbled and degraded to its present shameful condition. So true it is, that whenever a Church throws off the yoke of Christ’s Vicar, it is sure to fall into the hands of the civil power, and become the servant of the state.

We come now to a period at which we must divide our subjects; treating first of the history of the United Greeks, and then of the Catholics of the Latin rite. No very great change took place in ecclesiastical affairs, that regards our portion of Russian history, till the accession of Catharine II, in 1762. This wicked woman, whose participation in her husband’s cruel murder, it is almost impossible to doubt,—who feared neither God nor man,—believed in nothing, and honoured the names of Voltaire and Diderot, beyond those of the holiest men,—of course conformed to the Russian religion, to gain the crown, and became as diligent an observer, as she was a hearty despiser, of her new faith. She knew well how to turn to good account the prejudices of her subjects. But her religious persecutions are so interwoven with her political intrigues, that we are compelled to follow her through her crooked policy, to arrive at a clear knowledge of them.

* Theiner, p. 120. He satisfactorily answers several objections against Peter’s sincerity in these efforts to restore unity.

† Persecut. et souffrances, p. 19.

She had scarcely ascended the crown, when she joined Frederick,—to whom the world, to its shame, has given the epithet of the Great,—king of Prussia, in a conspiracy to overthrow the unhappy and tottering kingdom of Poland. Peter the Great had secured to the house of Saxony the hereditary possession of its throne; so to spare the country, and all Europe, the disasters which its elective monarchy had so often produced. A secret treaty was entered into between this worthy pair, to restore the elective form to the kingdom whose doom they had already sealed, and whose ruin they knew would be thereby secured. The death of the good king Augustus III, in 1763, gave a favourable opportunity for carrying out their design; and by their joint influence the weak and inexperienced Stanislaus Poniatowski was raised to the throne. Their expressions on the occasion are recorded by Rulhière: "He will remain on the throne as long as I please," said Catharine. "And I," replied Frederick, with characteristic elegance, "will crack his skull with his own crown."* The very day, observes Dr. Theiner, that the unfortunate prince took the kingly oath, the two allied powers hurled the firebrand into his dominions. They scattered in it the seeds of a religious civil war, the most dreadful of all social scourges.

The kingdom of Poland contained between thirteen and fourteen millions of Catholics, whether of the Latin or Greek rite, and about four millions of Protestants, and Russo-Greeks. The Catholic religion was, and always had been, considered that of the country and people. All other forms enjoyed most perfect liberty of worship, but their members were excluded from certain offices; and this was only in accordance with what, at that time, was practised in every other state. The two infidel sovereigns proclaimed themselves the protectors of the dissenters of Poland, painted their imaginary abjection in the liveliest colours, and appealed to all Europe to establish perfect equality, while every Protestant state held its Catholic subjects under greater oppression. On the very day, as we said, on which the king of Poland swore to the constitution, the worthy representatives of Catharine, the cruel and worthless Repnin, and the mean and intriguing Kaiserling, presented him their memorial, claiming perfect equality among all classes of his subjects. A similar one was presented by the Prussian envoy. Imme-

* Theiner, p. 154.

diately after the same poor king's coronation, Frederick sent in another remonstrance, containing three propositions, the last of which was, that "the Russo-Greek bishop of Mohilew should have a seat in the senate, on equal footing with the Latin prelates." The man thus modestly thrust forward was a creature of Catharine's, who had promoted him to his present dignity; and it must be further observed that the Catholic-Greek bishops had not a place in that assembly. When this and other unreasonable demands were pressed upon the king and senate, the members of the latter, headed by the pious and intrepid bishop of Cracow, Cajetan Soltyk, encouraged Stanislaus to reject them, though in gentle terms. He added that the bishops should be empowered to deliberate and declare to what extent the dissenters could be allowed a relaxation of the existing laws, without endangering religion.

Catharine, on this refusal, threw off the mask; commenced a series of intrigues with those whom she had now thoroughly disaffected; sent secret emissaries through the country to excite them to rebellion, and gave them a promise, under her own hand, to furnish them with arms, and to support them by her troops. In earnest of her promises, she ordered an army of forty thousand Russians to advance to the confines of Poland. Prussia also threatened to send a body of twelve thousand troops for the same purpose. Still the Polish government stood firm, and the shameful acts and intrigues of its enemies increased; bodies of two thousand Russians invaded several towns, and forcibly compelled persons to join the confederation, as it was called. The separated Greeks showed themselves most unfavourable to these attempts, and almost uniformly declined joining the league. Even among the Protestants many were found, who loudly protested against this uncalled for interference, and declared that even supposing that they had been oppressed, which they did not feel, it was better to suffer some injustice from their own brethren, than betray their country into the hands of strangers. But in spite of every effort, the allied powers pushed on their plans, till they united many in what now took the name of the confederation of Radom.

A new calamity now awaited the Catholic Church, by the death of the venerable, virtuous, and resolute Ladislaus Lubienski, archbishop of Gnesen. Repnin had the audacity to try to force on the king, as his successor, one of the most despicable of men. This was Gurowski, a man loaded with every vice, a notorious drunkard and debauchee, once court-

fool to Peter III, then a spy to the épiscopal envoy of Russia at Warsaw, who gave him the tonsure one day, ordained him priest the next, and wished to make him primate on the third! Weak and enslaved as the king was, he recoiled in horror from placing the mitre on the head of such a beast; but Repnin had perhaps thrust him forward, only to facilitate the appointment of another, not so grossly licentious, but perhaps more suited to the purposes of his court. Irreligious, immoral and reckless, but at the same time clever, and always able to gain ascendancy, Count Gabriel Podoski was just the man to betray his religion and his country to the enemies of both. Catharine contrived to deceive the authorities in Rome; and in spite of the efforts of the most zealous Catholic bishops, Podoski was appointed primate. This was the death-blow to the Catholic religion in Poland. Catharine expressed her joy, by sending him a present of 60,000 rubles. He in return proved his gratitude by faithfully serving her evil designs, and pushed on the confederation, after he had corrupted and turned into his tool, the once honest prince Radziwil. He deceived many, by urging that resistance to Russia was at present useless; that it was better to yield for the present to her wishes, in hopes of better times. As the stream increased, it drew into it many who had not courage to brave the certain persecution of that hostile power; even the bishops at last, though with conditions and protests which neutralized their concessions, found it necessary to yield.

Repnin was not satisfied, but demanded from all who joined the league, a written declaration, in frightfully strong terms, whereby they subjected themselves to attainder, loss of rank, goods and life, and any other penalty which he might choose to inflict, if they held intercourse with any senator, minister, or delegate opposed to his plans, or if they did not support these in the diet. Such as refused saw their castles surrounded by soldiers, and were compelled to endure every enormity. Soltyk, bishop of Cracow, was, however, inflexible; and sent a most moving circular to all the delegates or representatives, entreating them to stand fast to their country and faith. The ambassador, enraged, let loose a party of soldiers upon his estates, completely plundered them, and all his property; seized for himself his finest horses, and drove about Warsaw in triumph, in the good bishop's state-carriage. But this virtuous and noble-minded man heeded not these gross injuries and insults; but at once

exhorted the Catholics to be true to their holy cause, and showed himself the kindest and most conciliating of men towards the dissenters. He called together their deputies, addressed them in the most affectionate manner, and laid before them the deceits practised on them by Russia and Prussia, which were goading them on to the ruin of their country. His words made a salutary impression; and to bring matters to a right understanding, he invited them to a banquet, to meet the bishops of Kiew and Kamieniecz, and the leading Catholic senators. But on the appointed day, one deputy after the other sent an excuse, having been commanded to do so by Repnin, under pain of severe consequences. The bishops received a threatening message that they would be sent to Siberia, if they again attempted such a step. They took no notice of this conduct, but bore all with patience, and ordered prayers in all churches, to beg of God that He would turn his anger away from Poland, and make the approaching diet serviceable to the good of their country and religion.

The bishop of Kamieniecz, Krasinski, bowed down with years and sorrow, secretly left the scene of conflict, and the other two intrepid champions had to fight the good fight alone. A few days before the opening of the diet, (Oct. 1, 1767), Repnin called the bishops before him, and informed them, "that this time the claims of the dissenters must pass; that the honour of the empress was here concerned; that if the Poles were strong enough to drive out the Russians they were welcome; but if they were not, they must obey, or prepare for chastisement and vengeance." He then issued a manifesto, which, as Theiner observes, would have done credit to the Jacobin club at Paris. What would the emperor Nicholas say if his Catholic subjects, or if Austria for them, were to proclaim, as among other matters this document does, the principle of the perfect equality of all religious bodies, and their right to participate in all civil honours and distinctions without exception? It was on this principle that his family ruined and conquered Poland: it is on its contradictory maxim that he is now crushing and destroying it. Either end of the baton is an equally good handle in an oppressor's grasp; the wolf can find his reasons for devouring the lamb in either the upper or the lower portion of the stream. The bishops, unmoved, held a meeting in the house of the wretched primate Podoski, and, with his sole exception, resolved to undergo every extremity, rather than

betray their country. The nuncio Darini eloquently harangued the diet against the proposed measures, and Soltyk prefaced his address by a most solemn act. As one about to doom himself to death or exile, he publicly made his will, leaving his property to his country, and making all proper arrangements for the government of his diocese. He then unfolded the designs of Russia, with a bold and patriotic energy which carried all before it, and engaged his countrymen manfully to resist its treacherous schemes. At the close of the day's session, a troop of soldiers broke into Soltyk's house, and that of his seconder Rzewuski, palatine of Cracow, and carried off all that remained after the former spoliation; including Soltyk's church-plate. The next day Zaluski, bishop of Kiew, followed in his footsteps, and was supported by the palatine's son, undaunted by his father's sufferings. The king closed the sittings. Warsaw was immediately filled with Russian troops, and the work of vengeance commenced.

Soltyk was just sitting down to supper, in the house of his friend count Meikek, when the doors of the palace were broken open; the house itself was surrounded with guards, and the apartments were soon filled with them. One outlet, however, had been overlooked, but the generous bishop disdained to fly. He had just time to throw some important state-papers into the fire, when an officer at the head of a troop entered the room; and informed him that he had orders to seize his person. The venerable bishop replied, in the gentlest manner, "that he regretted much not having about him the gold snuff-box which he had prepared as a present for the person who should be charged with this commission; as he had left it at home, expecting to have there been taken prisoner." Having embraced his kind host, he cheerfully followed his appointed jailor. Zaluski and the two Rzewuski were seized at the same time. Zaluski, the most learned man of his nation, revered for his virtues, was surprised by the guards kneeling before a crucifix, and offering himself up to God for the ransom of his people. Upon his being seized, his attendants fell in tears round his feet; he lovingly gave them his blessing, and moved the very hearts of his captors by the meekness and nobleness of his behaviour. The prisoners were marched off, under a guard of two hundred men, into the interior of Russia. On their way they were treated with all possible harshness, and severity; and having, to a man, rejected an offer of liberty on condition of

their yielding to the imperial will, they were carried in solitary captivity into the heart of Siberia.

But in spite of all these generous sacrifices, and noble victims, the doom pronounced upon that ill-fated country by the divine justice held its course. The claims of the dissenters were granted, and every other demand of Russia was complied with. A reaction took place; a Catholic league, the confederation of Bar, was formed, which entered a solemn protest against the unjustifiable interference of Repnin in national affairs. The Poles, animated by the exhortations of the brave and noble Pulawski, determined to defend themselves, and flew to arms. But they were no match for the hordes of barbarians let loose upon them by Russia; though from time to time they gained advantages and intercepted the rich booty which they were carrying off to Russia. In spite, however, of such partial successes, Cossacks were seen returning in triumph to their own country laden with costly spoil, and sometimes trailing the corpses of slaughtered noblemen, through the streets of Warsaw, behind their horses.

Repnin let slip his leash, and turned the dogs of war—of religious war—loose upon the unhappy country. Its dismal horrors, its brutal cruelties, we will not trust ourselves to record. We will simply translate Dr. Theiner's narrative; premising that for many of its almost incredible atrocities there are, alas! too good authority; and if he has not more specially alluded to some of them, there may be good reasons for it. We *know* their source, and can vouch for their validity.

"Courage and despair now rose on both sides to the highest pitch. Repnin disarmed Poland entirely; and in order to nourish the hatred and cruelty of the Russians still more against the unfortunate inhabitants of this country, he proclaimed, by order of the Empress, a war of religion against the Poles; which, as Raumer remarks, has not been equalled in savage cruelty in the records of modern history.

"Catherine now made the affairs of Poland a matter of religion, and represented the Poles as the oppressors of the Russian faith. Her reprobate sense knew no bounds; every thing was allowable provided she attained her end. She drove the wild tribes of Zaporagian Cossacks from the neighbouring steppes of the Don, and the Haidamacks dwelling in the Mobtian swamps, against the confederates, commanding them to burn and butcher everything before them. These murderous hordes acknowledged neither law nor

mercy, they were inclined to the Greco-Russian faith, although they mixed up much heathenish doctrine and ceremony with it.

"Catharine, on the 20th of June 1768, published a manifesto to these savages, whose sole delight was to quench their thirst in human blood ; and inflamed their fanaticism and cruelty in a way that makes one shudder. All is done in it to excite them to a general massacre. Catharine scorned not to turn to her purpose the prejudices of the people, in order the better to urge these hordes to the spilling of blood. Therefore she imputed to the Poles the toleration of the Jews as the greatest crime. It is well known that her predecessor, the Grand Duchess Elizabeth, had driven out of Russia 40,000 Jews, because they introduced luxury among the Russians by their trade. These wretched people found an asylum in Poland. So likewise did 60,000 Roskolniks (Russian separatists), who, flying from the bloody persecution of the orthodox Russians, of their own accord retreated from Russia in the reign of Peter the Great, and sought refuge in Poland. Catharine used every means to entice them back, but all her endeavours proved abortive. Yet, nevertheless, in her proclamation, she accuses the Poles of the most cruel intolerance. In fact, on reading this manifesto, it appears incredible that a Christian soul could fall into such an abyss of reprobation. The manifesto runs as follows :—'As we evidently perceive with what contempt and disgrace, we ourselves and our religion are treated by the Poles and the Jews, and how the defenders of our Greek faith are persecuted, oppressed, and put to death, and as we will no longer submit to similar misusage and persecution, alone owing to our religion ; we order Maximilian Zulasnick, colonel and leader of the Zaporagians, with his own followers and our troops, and the Cossacks of the Don, to march into Poland, in order to uproot and destroy, with the help of God, all Poles and Jews, traitors to our holy religion. By these measures we shall put an end, once for all, to the complaints which are perpetually made to us against these murderers, perjurers, breakers of the law,—these Poles who, while protecting the false faith of the wicked Jews, oppress a faithful and innocent people. We command you, in your passage through Poland, to annihilate their name and the memory of them.'

"These savage tribes now fell like wild beasts and ravenous vultures upon the Poles. At their head marched Russian priests, goading them on, by the promise of heavenly and earthly reward, to their deeds of rapine and murder. They promised the dissenters admission into the senate and into government offices. All those who did not embrace the Greco-Russian faith, fell under their murderous hands : no one was spared,—old men, women, children, nobles, servants, monks, priests, and Jews, were butchered without distinction. With this revolting cruelty was joined the most impious mockery. Gallows were every where erected, and a nobleman, a

monk, a Jew, and a dog, were hanged together on them with the superscription, 'all alike.' Some hundreds of men were buried up to their necks in the earth, and their heads mowed off; women far gone in pregnancy had their wombs ripped open, the fruit of them torn out, and living cats sowed up in them. The children of these savages were encouraged by their fathers to strangle and to pierce, and in other horrible ways to murder, poor victims who had their hands bound behind their backs. If a stranger came across them who concealed his faith or religion, they forced him to murder with his own hands, noblemen, priests and monks. Villages became desolate, and the fields covered with dead bodies, and wells filled with the corpses of strangled children. Three towns, fifty villages, many thousands of farms were reduced to ashes. The small fortified town of Human, in the government of Kiev, as yet remained in possession of the confederates. In this place a vast number of women, children, and old men, had sought refuge, to escape from murder and robbery. Here the nobility of the country had brought all their valuables, their gold and silver. Maximilian Zulasnik and Peter Kalnizenski, the leader of the Zaporagians and Cossacks, marched their bands against the place, but were driven back by the confederates. Kalnizenski now endeavoured to get possession of it by stratagem; and, disguised as the commander of the troops of the Palatine of Kiev, he presented himself at the gates of the town, requesting provisions for his army, in order to drive away the Zaporagians and Cossacks. No treachery was apprehended, the gates were thrown open, and at the same instant troops of Cossacks and Zaporagians came out of their concealment, stormed the town, and falling upon the inhabitants, commanded them to bring forth all their treasures into the market-place, if they wished to have their lives preserved. Boundless wealth was given up into their hands; and soon the work of murder and robbery commenced. Not a life was spared: sixteen thousand fell victims to their cruelty. The town itself was rased to the ground.

"Two hundred thousand souls, it is calculated, perished during these bloody days. The Russian account naturally diminishes the number to 50,000. Russia playing the hypocrite, pretended to punish the Zaporagians and Cossacks for their acts of cruelty: but all she did was to despoil the robbers of their booty, and turn it to her own use."—pp. 224-228.

Bar, the seat of the confederacy, fell into the hands of these savages, and one thousand two hundred men, taken in it, were sent in chains into Russia. While the Russians were exercising every cruelty on their captives, the venerable bishop Krasinski, who now, in the hour of danger, returned from concealment, issued a manifesto to the confederates, entreating them to use the prisoners who fell into their hands

with all lenity and kindness, "And thus," he adds, "disabuse Europe, deceived by your enemies, and show it that you, at least, are not carrying on a religious war, but only acting in self-defence." Although Russia became involved in war with Turkey, and the latter power took the interests of Poland deeply to heart, the barbarities practised upon the unfortunate Catholics, instead of decreasing, only increased. "There was no cruelty," writes Dr. Theiner, "however grievous and revolting, which was not practised on the poor wretches who fell into their enemies' hands, or who voluntarily surrendered themselves, in hopes of finding some compassion. Never can the name of the Russian colonel Drewitz be spoken without shuddering! He executed the most unheard of atrocities with real delight. Often he bound his prisoners naked to trees, and made them targets for his barbarians to shoot at with their darts or muskets. At other times he chained together multitudes of such victims, and then amused himself (for this was a pastime in his carousals) by having their heads knocked off in a brutally ludicrous way. He had both hands chopped off from whole troops of them, and drove them to wander over the country, till they fell dead through loss of blood. Finally, he flayed many alive, and so that their skins and flesh should represent the national costume!" Several public manifestoes, issued in 1769 and 1770, allude to these atrocities, and are given in Dr. Theiner's Appendix of Documents, p. 187, and the following pages.

Three years after, the first division of Poland took place, under an express stipulation that the Catholics should remain in full possession of all their ecclesiastical rights. As a good foundation for the faithless dealings held towards them, it may be well to quote the fifth article of the Treaty of Warsaw:—

"Les Catholiques Romains *utriusque ritus* jouiront dans les provinces cédées par le présent Traité de toutes leurs possessions et propriétés quant au civil ; et par rapport à la religion, ils seront *entièrement conservés* in statu quo, *c'est à dire, dans le même libre exercice de leur culte et discipline, avec toutes et telles églises et biens ecclésiastiques, qu'ils possèdent au moment de leur passage sous la domination de sa Majesté impériale . . . et sa Majesté impériale et ses successeurs ne se serviront jamais des droits de souverain au préjudice du statu quo de la religion Catholique Romaine, dans les pays susdits.*"

Yet scarce was the ink dry upon this treaty, when a reckless persecution commenced against the Catholics, especially

the United Greeks, by the Russo-Greeks. Immense possessions belonging to monastic orders were seized, and adjudged, without any pretence of title, to the crown. A host of Russian priests now invaded the country; and, supported by troops, drove the Catholic clergy from their churches, and took possession of them. When remonstrance was attempted, it only brought down cruel ill-treatment. In the official complaint presented by the Bishop of Posen, the venerable and holy Młodziejowski, to Count Stackelberg, Russian envoy at Warsaw, he instances several such instances of unjust and cruel aggression. One of the cases specified is that of the Dean of Braclaw, who, after having been severely beaten by an apostate, assisted by two Cossacks, was tied by the neck to a tree.* Another contemporary document thus speaks of these barbarities:—"Les vexations de ces fanatiques stupides et ignorants n'ont pas diminué. Ils maltraitent les prêtres du rit Grec-Uni partout où ils les trouvent, et leur donnent ce qu'ils appellent *l'onction des Frères non-uni*, c'est à dire autant de coups de bâton qu'ils en peuvent supporter."† Twelve hundred churches were at this period forcibly snatched from the Catholics, and taken possession of by the schismatics. So much for the faith of treaties!

The second and the third division of this ill-fated country soon took place. Catharine had, in the meantime, lost no opportunity of carrying on her anti-catholic and most unchristian policy. While she was undermining the remaining part of Poland by her secret spies and intrigues, she was exercising her cruelty upon those of the clergy whom she had carried off into Russia. They were harassed and ill-treated; till, unhappily, their constancy was worn out, and many at last conformed to the schismatical communion. At the same time, she did all in her power to bring about the same effect among those who had been left in her newly-acquired dominions. For this purpose, she published an ukase in 1779, to the effect, that whenever a parish of United Greeks fell vacant by the death of the incumbent, the congregation should have it put to their choice, whether they would have a Catholic or Russian priest for his successor. This was equivalent to thrusting in the latter. For the voice of the congregation was, according to Russian fashion, represented entirely by the magistrates; and these being of imperial nomination, and always schismatics, they took care to put in their own clergy.

* Docum. xlix. (pa. ii.) p. 190.

† Theiner, p. 265.

In the meantime, the see of Polock became vacant; and Catharine, well knowing the advantages to her schemes, of such a condition, took care not to fill it up. It remained without a pastor for four years; and so well did she manage the plan just described, by filling up vacant curacies, and by other arts, that in this period, the holy pontiff, Pius VI, assures us, that in that diocese alone, eight hundred churches were taken from the Catholics, and handed over to the schismatics, and that 100,000 souls were driven to apostacy.* Catharine at length thought of filling up the vacant see; but by a Russo-Greek, or schismatical bishop! The intrepid pontiff just mentioned raised his voice, and awed even the unfeeling empress into a better mind. Heraclius Lisowski was named to the bishopric in 1783. He had scarcely taken possession of his see, when *Field-Marshal Czernyszew* (a strange minister for such a purpose) communicated to him an order, that in every solemn religious service, a prayer should be offered up for the empress, the heir to the throne, and the *holy synod*, that is, the supreme council of the Russian Church! To this third demand, the bishop positively refused to accede. The soldier had more feeling than the woman; and would not enforce her decree.

But Catharine now imagined another notable scheme for destroying the united Greek Church, and thus proving the sincerity of her promises to preserve the Catholic religion *in statu quo*. This was to subject it to the jurisdiction of the *Latin* Primate of Russia, the Archbishop of Mohilew. The individual who at that time bore the title, was a fitting instrument for her work. This was Stanislaus Siestrzencewicz; who, from 1772 till December 1826, was a disgrace and a scourge to the Church which he governed. A sketch of his history will not be out of place. He was born of the noble, but poor, family of Bohucz, in Königsberg, and educated in the Calvinistic creed. He entered into the Hussars; and having lost a finger, was admitted a tutor into some family. The Bishop of Wilna induced him to embrace the Catholic faith; but there is too much reason to fear that he never renounced Protestantism in his heart. He now turned his thoughts to the ecclesiastical profession; and, in an evil hour, was admitted to orders. To serve the empress, he became a deadly foe to his own country, and was one of her best, or worst, instru-

* Brief to the Rector of the Greek College, of the 7th June, 1782. Ap. Theiner, p. 296.

ments in the ruin of Poland. In reward for his services, he was named to the newly-established see of Mohilew. His Protestant brother lived with him in his palace, and the archbishop gave one of his daughters in marriage to a schismatical priest; while his chancellor was a nominally-converted Jew, who carried his profane traffic into the sanctuary, and openly and shamelessly exposed to sale church benefices and preferments. The bishop himself was an unprincipled, haughty, covetous, and ambitious man; a declared enemy of the holy see, and a protector of any heretical or schismatical scheme. Thus, he consented to become one of the vice-presidents of the bible society, and forced one of its preachers, a worthless German, who soon after apostatized, into Catholic churches. But the great object of his ambition—besides the cardinalate, which successive popes refused to bestow on him—was to become head of all the Catholics in the Russian empire, Latin and Greek. Now his plan admirably forwarded the anti-Catholic views of Catharine. He not only invited United Greek priests, but pressed, and almost forced them, to pass over to the Latin rite. From the time of Urban VIII, pope after pope had strongly reprobated and forbidden this change of rite, which had been ever most pernicious to the interests of religion. In fact, the gradual passage of most of the Polish nobility to the Latin rite, had left the Greek Catholics comparatively defenceless. The evil working of this system will easily be understood in the present case: Siestrzencewicz allured, and almost compelled, many pastors of Greek Catholic flocks to adopt the Latin liturgy; and when they were so ignorant of its language as not to be able to read it, went so far beyond his powers as almost to concoct a new liturgy, or to grant dispensations in a variety of ways. Thus, sometimes the rubrics were put in the vernacular tongue; and many said mass entirely in Slavonian, only reciting the words of consecration in Latin, and having even these written in their own characters. What was the consequence? The congregation, attached to their own ancient rites and ceremonies, perhaps more than to the treacherous clergy who abandoned them, would rather go, or would be easily drawn to, a schismatical church, where they saw them all practised as they had been accustomed to see them. And thus were many led to apostacy.

These slow proceedings, however, did not satisfy the wishes of Catharine. In the treaty of Grodno, made on occasion of Poland's second dismemberment (13th July 1793), the eighth article again

guaranteed to "the Roman Catholics *utriusque ritus*," their religious rights, in the following explicit terms: "Sa Majesté l'Impératrice de toutes les Russies promet en conséquence, *d'une manière irrevocable, pour Elle, ses héritiers, et successeurs*, de maintenir à perpétuité, les dits Catholiques-Romains des deux rits, dans la possession imperturbable des prérogatives, propriétés, et églises, du libre exercice de leur culte et discipline, et tous droits attachés au culte de leur religion: déclarant pour Elle et ses successeurs de ne vouloir jamais exercer les droits du Souverain, au préjudice de la religion Catholique-Romaine des deux rits dans les pays passés sous sa domination par le présent traité." In the very same year Catharine summoned her council at St. Petersburg, to deliberate upon the following question, proposed to them by her minister of state, Alexis Iwanowitsch Mussin-Puschkin: "What will be the best and most convenient way to bring back the united (Catholics) in late Poland to the profession of the orthodox Greek faith?" The best method proposed and adopted, was the formation of a schismatical mission, directed by a Russian bishop. Victor Sadkowski, archbishop of Kiew, was appointed its chief; and an endowment of twenty thousand silver rubles was allotted it. Let not the reader be deceived by names which have a Christian sound. Let not the word mission, when written of Russian clergy, convey to him the idea of mortified men, who issue from their meditative and prayerful cell, with the crucifix in their hands, and the eloquence of zeal and truth upon their lips, and go from place to place, awakening the torpid conscience, and rousing long slumbering thoughts to terror of judgment and to tears of repentance. No, no; the knout was the symbol in the hands of these missionaries; savage Cossacks their attendant lay brothers; scorn and virulence their persuasiveness; and plunder, robbery, and tyrannical vexation, their meek ends. Polock, Minsk, and Luck were favoured with detachments of these martial apostles. To support them in their zealous efforts, Catharine issued an ukase, addressed to Passek, governor of White Russia, and the governor of Minsk, and other provinces, to the effect, that all families which had joined the Catholic Church since 1595 should be compelled to abandon it; that the registries of churches should be searched, and if it could be discovered that they had been originally built by the schismatics, they should be restored to them; and finally, that there should be no Catholic church in any village where there were not a hundred hearths or families; but that such villages

should be united with the neighbouring parish. The consequence was, that, the population in Russian Poland being exceedingly thin, *one-half* the Catholic parishes were suppressed; a crowd of poor priests were driven to beg their bread; and thousands of people were placed out of the reach, especially in winter, of the consolations of their religion. In effecting these cruel measures, no barbarity was spared. The gentle missionaries, backed by their escort of executioners, plied their knouts and scourges with true Russian zeal, and when blows and stripes failed, the cattle of the poor recusants was driven away; their little farms pillaged; their houses sacked: and in many instances their ears and noses were cut off, their hair plucked out, and their teeth shattered with a club.*

By these truly Christian means many were indeed got over; the palatinate of Kiew, and the province of Volhynia, lost nearly all their Catholics, and the Russian Archbishop of Mohilew boasted, in a circular, dated May 25, 1795, that "through the wise counsels of her imperial majesty, he had brought back, in the space of one year, no less than a million of souls." In Podlachia they had little success; thanks to the noble resistance and pastoral vigilance of the great and good bishop Peter Bielanski, a name which every Catholic may well pronounce with reverence, gratitude, and affection. He was bishop of Lemberg, but part of his diocese extended into the Russian dominions. To counteract the wicked efforts of the Russian missionaries, he visited again and again this portion of his diocese, instructed and encouraged his clergy in the discharge of their duties, and where their churches had been seized, empowered and enjoined them to make use of the domestic chapels of the nobility, or to celebrate the divine mysteries in their own houses. Complaints were soon carried to the throne against the holy prelate, and General Szernmetew, governor of the province, communicated to him an imperial order, dated March 21, 1795, whereby his jurisdiction over the Russian provinces was interdicted, and he was commanded not only to desist from his course of action, but to recall what he had done, and forbid his clergy to act in opposition to the royal will. The venerable bishop knew his duty too well to obey; he boldly replied, on the 8th of April, in a noble document, which enumerates the treacheries and violations of the most solemn compacts of which Catharine had been guilty, in her treatment of the Greek Catholics.

* Theiner, p. 310.

The persecution, however, rather increased than diminished. By the third division of Poland (Oct. 14, 1795), the whole of the Catholic Greek dioceses fell into the hands of Catharine, excepting those of Lemberg and Przemyśl. Her first step was at once to suppress all their sees, with the exception of that of Polock, and to adjudicate their revenues to the crown, except such portions as she gave to the generals and others, who had most distinguished themselves in the work of proselytism above described. The bishops of Wladimir, of Luck, and Minsk, received pensions of 150*l.* per annum, and the metropolitan of Kiew, one of 300*l.*; and Catherine divided the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, after Russian fashion, into four great eparchies. At the same time all the monasteries of the Basilian monks were suppressed, with the exception of a few for schools; and all the churches, without exception, were ordered to be taken from the Catholic clergy, where they would not apostatize, and given to schismatical pastors. By an act, ludicrously entitled an "Act of Grace," such priests as would not conform, had their choice either to leave their country, or to retire on pensions of from fifty to one hundred rubles, *i. e.* from 2*l.* 10*s.* to 5*l.* a year! So generous an offer was not indeed accepted by many: the majority preferred exile with the free exercise of their religion, and went over the borders into Gallicia, where the Emperor Leopold II hospitably received them, and gave them occupation among their brethren in the former Polish dioceses. In the meantime the persecution went on; and though the diocese of Polock partly escaped, owing to the greater mildness of its governor, the bishop of that see has recorded, that in those of Kiew, Wladimir, Luck and Kamieniecz, out of five thousand united Greek parishes, only two hundred were left Catholic.

While things seemed to have reached their worst possible state, a higher destiny stepped in, and cut short at once the persecutor and the persecution. Catharine was called to give an account of her murderous and impious reign, before a more righteous tribunal than that of men. It is indeed a melancholy reflection, how much religion in modern times has had to suffer from sovereigns of that sex, to which the Church has given the epithet of "devout," and in which one naturally expects to find gentler and purer sentiments, than in the sterner breasts of men. Elizabeth in England, and Catharine in Russia, are two odious proofs, how religion may be made the excuse for treachery and bloodshed, where ambition, pride,

and selfishness, form preponderating elements in the female character. The present state of Spain and Portugal,—where the spoliation of the Church, the suppression of religious orders, the oppression of the clergy, and the attempt to usurp ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which have driven religion to indeed her truest home, the people's hearts, but yet have left her naked and defenceless, have reduced the country to an almost infidel aspect, have robbed the crown of its brightest jewels, the throne of its firmest support, and royalty of its noblest titles,—are proofs scarcely less painful, of how much religion may suffer, when womanly weakness is not supported by high religious principle, and where the sceptre is valued more for the gold of which it is made, than for the cross of Christ which crowns it. The unfortunate Paul, Catharine's successor, during his brief reign, repaired to some extent the ruin which she had brought upon the Greek Catholic establishment. A personal friend to the magnanimous Pius VI, he received with honour and joy, the legate whom, at his request, he sent; one, whom afterwards we remember, honoured with the purple, venerable and holy, and esteemed by all who knew him, the noble and virtuous Cardinal Littà.

Negotiations were entered into between the holy see and the Russian court, and a new hierarchical system agreed upon. The Archbishopric of Polock was confirmed, and Lisowski continued in it; and the bishoprics of Luck and Biecz were restored. To the last of these sees was appointed the venerable and saintly bishop Josaphat Bulhak, whose truly apostolic conduct, we shall have occasion more fully later to describe. Many abbeys and other monastic houses were likewise restored. Further, the synod, or *college*, as it is called, for the transaction of ecclesiastical affairs, was re-established. It is a species of council composed of bishops, and holds its sittings at St. Petersburg. The laws which govern it are laid down in an imperial ukase, issued by Alexander I in 1801: and breathe a spirit of justice and moderation. Under this good monarch the Catholic Greeks enjoyed comparatively peace and protection; and in part recovered from the wounds inflicted on them by his cruel female predecessor. The first years of the present emperor's reign showed similar principles and feelings: but from 1834 dates a new and more terrible persecution. This we reserve, in both its branches, that is, against both Greeks and Latins, for a separate and fuller consideration in another article. For we shall find it necessary to give documents more at length, and to enter into

greater details. But before leaving this portion of our subject, we will give our readers a calculation, whereby to estimate the losses of the United Greek Church, under the persecutions we have described.

In 1771 a statistical account of this Church was drawn up by the Metropolitan Felician Wolodkowiez, from which we extract one line of the following table. In 1814, the Emperor Paul laid before the papal nuncio Arezzo, a similar official return as far as the Russian dominions went. By adding to this the numbers in the Austrian portion of ancient Poland, we shall have the gross returns for all the countries to which the first statement refers. The results will appear from the following table:—

	Parish Churches.	Monasteries.	Persons.
1771.....	13,00025112,000,000
1814... In Russia 1388 }3684	91 } ... 105	1,398,478 }
In Galicia 2296 }		14 }	2,136,666 }
Loss.....	93161468,464,856

A frightful loss truly, and most afflicting to every Catholic heart.

The Latin Church, or the *Roman-Catholics*, as they are called in Russian official documents, never experienced from Catharine the same savage treatment as their Greek brethren; on the contrary, she seemed to extend to them kindness and protection. But she was silently preparing the way for the later usurpations and oppressions of the reigning emperor. Her principal stroke of policy was the erection of the see of Mohilew, and the appointment of the unworthy Siertrzen-ciewicz to it. Pius VI long refused to acknowledge either; till at last the nuncio Archetti was appointed to treat, and a compromise was effected. The extravagant limits assigned to the new diocese were restrained, by the provision of making the jurisdiction only temporary, until the holy see should otherwise provide. It was likewise made criminal by the express, for any one to embrace the Catholic faith.

Paul, at the same time that, in accord with the holy see, he appointed new sees for the Greek Catholics, likewise divided the Latins into six bishoprics. One of the last acts of Alexander's life was to shew kindness to the Catholics of both rites, by granting them permission to build new churches.

Here then, for the present, we conclude; but only to continue, in our next number, the review of the valuable documents before us; and to trace the sad picture of treachery

and oppression down to these later times. A sickening task it has been to us so far: and by no means an enticing one in the portion that remains. One hope, however, breaks, like a gleam of distant light, upon the sorrowful prospect which we have brought around us. The Catholic religion is a strong and vigorous plant, and drives its roots down deeper into the soil of a country, than tyrant's sword or oppressor's edict can reach; and when the larger fibres have been plucked up, there are finer and almost imperceptible threads, by which it clings and holds to its former place, till a season of respite comes, when they push forth, with no other tillage than the dew of heaven can give—the tillage of Paradise, before sin brought down rain. Poor Poland has been overrun, confiscated, recolonized with strangers to her language and creed. Well, let her take comfort;—so has Ireland been, not once, but many times, treated; and yet she is Catholic Ireland still. The very settlers who came to take the place of her sons, have, almost everywhere, more or less, yielded to the influence of her Catholic spirit, and embraced the faith which they came to supplant. Poland has seen her religious houses destroyed; her churches seized, and desecrated by a schismatical worship;—and so has Ireland: yet three hundred years' experience has proved that all this suffices not to make a people Protestant. Poland sees her children smitten with every sort of penal disability, proscribed, banished, calumniated, and persecuted. Let her turn to her sister in the west, and learn from her how all these things may be endured, and that for centuries, and yet a people come forth from the crucible more purely refined, and more brightly burnished, than they who have not passed through such fiery trial. A day of retribution will come, when the blessedness of those who suffer persecution for justice' sake shall be made manifest. There are beatitudes for nations, as well as for individuals.

APPENDIX TO FOREGOING ARTICLE.

As in the course of this paper we have not spoken very respectfully of the proceedings of the Russian clergy, we have thought it right to give some account of them, as described by one who has the best opportunities of knowing them. We extract the following from the conclusion of Part I. of Kohl's "*Russia*," London, 1842. Their ease in fraternizing with German Protestants we particularly recommend to the notice of some of their Anglican admirers.

"If any one ask a Russian who may have already dined, to eat again, he will often answer, 'Am I a priest that I should dine twice over?' This almost proverbial way of expressing themselves refers to the running about of the popes (priests) from one funeral feast, or one christening banquet, to another, at which they enjoy themselves more than any one else. A Russian driving out and meeting a pope, holds it so bad an omen, that he will rather turn back, if he have not, by immediate spitting, warded off the evil influence.

"In no class of our society do more terrible things happen, and among none does what is scandalous in itself take a more revolting form, than among our priests,' was the assurance once made to me by a Russian, and he supported his assertion by a number of abominable tales, which it would not be becoming in me to repeat. If we heard only such proverbs, stories, and assertions, concerning the Russian priesthood, it would be better to take no further notice of such a body; but when, on the other hand, we consider they have some good qualities, of which good nature and toleration are not the only ones; that in these times new lights are breaking in, which give hopes of a brighter future; and that the class has produced many excellent individuals; it may not be advisable to turn a deaf ear when our indulgence is solicited, or to refuse a nearer consideration of what we may at first be inclined to pass over as a hopeless desert. * * * * * The priests enjoy no great personal influence or consideration. A priest's advice is seldom asked in family matters; even the domestic chaplains are there to perform divine service only, and never penetrate into the interior of families, as the Catholic clergy do. The peasants with us know no better counsellor than their pastor; but the Russian peasant, in cases of difficulty, rather turns to his saint's pictures, and invokes the sacrament rather than the priest who comes with it. One cannot help wondering how little the people in the streets and houses of public entertainment seem held in check by the presence of a priest. Rarely is one seen appeasing a dispute, or exerting any moral authority to restore order; he passes on like any other indifferent person. Moral influence, indeed, they have little or none; only with the saints in their hands are they feared or respected—only as directors of religious ceremonies—not as interpreters of the living word of God. * * * * * The priests naturally reap as they have sown. As they preach no lessons of reason or morality, they have no moral lever to put in motion; and as they only inspire reverence in their magnificent pontificalibus, little or none by their example or personal qualities, the hem of their gold embroidered *yepitrakhis* is constantly kissed, while their brown every-day tunics, we are assured, often meet with hard knocks. The government uses them no better. The temporal power sometimes makes considerable inroads on the spiritual, without calling the priests to counsel; and priests, like other public

officers, are liable to hard reprimands and severe punishments. They may be sent to Siberia, or degraded to serve as common soldiers. * * * * So much for the outward condition and position of the Russian clergy. For the inward, it must be owned, when we consider the whole system and its fruits during the course of three centuries, and when we compare their deeds with those of the priesthood in other countries, they are a very insignificant body. They have done nothing superexcellent for the arts or for science, nor produced men who, in any respect, have done humanity great service. They lived, eat, drank, married, christened, buried, absolved, and died; and, on the whole, they have not done much else. There are, it is true, notabilities among the Russian clergy, but they are such only in Russia. In the list of Russian authors, enumerated in the *Academical Calendar* for 1839, the clerical profession had contributed only one hundred and two; of these sixty-six were patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops: the rest were monks. * * * Some things, however, are to be said in praise of the Russian priesthood. They are not less than other Russians distinguished for their toleration in matters of religion. It is true the matter does not lie very near their hearts, because they have few thoughts or ideas connected with it, which have become firm convictions and are maintained as such; they are therefore peaceful, not so much out of dislike to quarrelling as from a want of zeal and energy. It is a merit in them nevertheless. Nowhere does this tolerant spirit appear in a more favourable light than on the frontiers of the Russian and Polish provinces. Here there are in many places only Greek and Roman Catholic priests, and no Protestant pastor. Should it happen that a foreign Protestant is in want of spiritual advice in sickness, or should the body of a Protestant require burial, it is almost invariably the Catholic, who, in an inhuman and unchristian manner refuses his spiritual aid, while the Russian gives his without hesitation. In such cases foreigners always apply to the Russian, rather than to the Catholic priest. Seldom is an unkind word heard from Russian priests, when speaking of a person of a different faith; and those who understand German will even go frequently to the Protestant Churches to hear the preachers. In the Baltic provinces, when the military, who happen to be stationed there, have no Russian Church within reach, the Russian priests never hesitate to perform divine service in a Protestant Church; and in the interior it has happened that they have lent their own churches to Protestants. In Austria, Protestant churches are only called prayer-houses: in Russia the priests treat them as on an equal footing with their own. Neither do they hesitate to bury their dead in the same church-yard with the Protestants. The cultivated part of the priesthood, who understand German, are much more inclined to the Protestant than to the Catholic party,—more to rationalism than

to mysticism. Their libraries prove it: Niemeyer's works, his Bible, the *Stunden der Andacht*, Schleiermacher's writings, Neander's Church History, are frequently met with; here and there I have even seen Strauss's *Life of Christ*. The works of the other party are, on the contrary, very rare. When some recent occurrences in the Baltic provinces and in Poland are called to mind, it may be thought that the Russian priesthood are somewhat less tolerant now than formerly; and in fact it is only natural that, with the proud exaltation of political power, the Church should also begin to lift up her head. As the government seeks to advance the political creed, the Church may endeavour, by more urgent zeal and greater energy, to spread 'the one and only true faith.' But if the Church does take her share in the conquests, and appears to progress in those provinces, it does so certainly far less from its own impulse than in consequence of commands emanating from a higher quarter."

ART. VIII.—1. *American Notes for General Circulation.*

2 vols. 8vo. By Charles Dickens. 1842.

2. *A Visit to Italy.* 2 vols. 8vo. By Mrs. Trollope. 1842.

IF we wished to describe two countries standing in strong contrast one with the other, we think they might not unfairly be described something in this manner: the first should bear an impression of antiquity in all its parts; the other of novelty. There, old cities, and the ruins of their predecessors, memorials of people beyond people, back into days of fable; here, all of yesterday,—log-houses smoking through the exhalations of a newly cleared morass, and towns composed of "white wooden houses, sprinkled and dropped about, without seeming to have any root in the ground,"*—the mushroom growth of a *monumentless* people. In one the arts of refined life should have their home,—painting and sculpture, and poetry of every class, a history and a literature perfectly national; in the other the utilities should be supposed to domineer over the graces, and the practical over the imaginative. This one should have its governments right royally established,—the monarchical principle consecrated in every way, by venerable descents and by sacerdotal election, illustrated by every variety of name and title, from the imperial diadem to the ducal coronet; and the other should

* Dickens, vol. i. p. 61.

be the very type of democracy and ideal liberty—from the fireside at home, to the national government, which should be a great compound republic, containing other republics, and they again subdivisible, according to the laws of matter, into homogeneous particles *ad infinitum*. In fine—not to carry our contrasts on for ever—we should see in one country a religious principle—and one, too, both stringent, practical, and universal—which pervades institutions, customs, feelings, the inside and outside of things, the higher and the lower, the general and the particular; while the other should be perfectly untrammelled by any such bond, and neither law nor usage require the stamp of such a principle to give worth to any act; nor the constitution of the country much distinguish between Turk and Christian, infidel and believer.

Now if we wished to propose such a contrast, it would not be at all necessary to draw upon the imagination for it. We have it in truth, in actual existence; and the two works which we have joined together at the head of our article, do really affect to describe them. Italy and America present every one of the points of comparison enumerated in the preceding paragraph. And for this very reason it is, that they are the favourite fields of writing tourists, gentlemen and ladies, who perambulate the land, pencil in hand, to the consternation of the inhabitants, and the plague of all quiet people. America is fertile from its very novelty; Italy from its long cultivation. In the former, the traveller, who boldly strikes into its interior, has a good chance of alighting on a new *city* just starting from the mud, with some magnisonant name from Egypt or Greece, which the last publishing traveller (two years before) never heard of; or he may even get within the frontiers of a new state, only staked out a few months before, but already an infant Hercules, speaking big words, and ready to go to war with all the world, and over head and ears in debt—without, perhaps, much intention of paying it. In Italy, on the contrary, though there is much that would be new to the touring world, if it chose to look for it, no one thinks of going out of the rich beaten path, where all think they can pick up something new, where the herbage is abundant from ages of tillage, and the soil seems inexhaustible, from the very abundance which it yields. Along this beaten path all hurry, one after the other; till at last—neither the words nor application are our own—"the land will not bear a blade of decent grass, or even a thistle, for any stray donkey that may be passing! It must be a bold donkey,"

continues our lady tourist, after quoting the above from Capt. Hall, "you will say, who, after this, shall venture to bray about Italy? . . . But . . ." (vol. i. p. 2.) In truth, the danger is, that such roadsters, with abundance of untouched food around them, will persevere in tossing over and over the provender which hundreds have been busy at before them, or will try to crop and nibble exactly where all has been clean shaved to the root. Almost every page of Mrs. Trollope's work would give us an illustration of this remark.

But why, it may be asked, bring these two writers together under one classification, when the scene of their adventures are so far asunder, and of such different characters? Because, in truth, they both belong to one very common class of travellers; of travellers who skim over the surface of the land, who see it out of carriage windows, and visit its sights by the guide-book, who penetrate no further than the very shell and outside of things, get no deeper than the paint upon the buildings, or the coat upon their inhabitants; who give us, indeed, often their own notions of things, but not the things themselves; tell us what *they* thought and felt, but can have no serious intention that we should think or feel as they did.

Thus, Mr. Dickens has produced a book, which undoubtedly must be termed *amusing*. It is very pleasant reading; it is lively and clever. But we plodding people look into a book of travels in hopes of making the acquaintance of men and things in foreign lands: we are dull enough to look, among all the amusement, for some information. While he writes for us under his monosyllabic name, we are content to take him for what he professes to be, an amusing writer; a caterer to the monthly craving after a new chapter and two engravings; and when the lunar divisions have run up into a yearly cycle, as the author of a lively and interesting romance. But when he comes forward by his own proper title, and sits deliberately down to write, not a fiction, but truth,—what he has himself seen and heard,—we begin to look serious, and expect a specimen of his mind, rather than of his imagination. We wish to see how he has looked and listened, as well as what he has seen and heard. We may pardon a smart and witty repartee to a domino, though we know who it is, which we might resent from the same gentleman in his own frock-coat. And so we look for different manners from Dickens than we care about in "Boz." Now, we think the *tour de force* of his travels, the great effort of his genius in the work

before us has been to produce two volumes upon a civilized country, from which we can gather no notion whatever as to whether or no there be in that country any religion, science, literature, or fine arts; any army or navy; any agriculture, commerce, or trade; any income, expenditure, or taxation; any great men or good men, any professions, or ranks, or states (save those of slave and master); any education (except for the deaf and dumb), moral instruction, religious, or professional; any magistracy, municipal, or provincial government; any codes or forms of law (beyond imprisoning); any progress or decrease in states, in opinions, or in creeds; such things as riches or poverty, success or failure, and in what proportion: in fine, from which has been carefully excluded anything illustrating, or improving our acquaintance with, the geography, the natural history, the productions, the politics, the prospects of the immense and highly interesting country, which he has visited. Something, indeed, we learn; yea, all about some things. We know all about American travelling in great and rich variety, steam-boats and railways, omnibuses and stage-coaches; we know what is to be had for breakfast in each and every sort of travelling; we make acquaintance with a certain quantity of unknown and nameless individuals, generally of a low comical character; we are initiated into the whole mystery of the least sufferable of American peculiarities, the mastication of the "vile weed," and its consequent abominations. We have, moreover, some light and gay descriptions of cities, especially at the outset, which are clever and amusing. And, as a redeeming trait, we must not omit the notice of some charitable establishments at Boston, and some very painful accounts of prisons and houses of correction. The gem of Mr. Dickens's work is in his narrative of a deaf, dumb, and blind girl's instruction and education. Similar cases, we know, have occurred in other countries, as in Belgium, for instance; but still we are thankful for any account of such interesting matters.

We do not think we have been unjust in thus epitomising the contents of Mr. Dickens's work: we mean of course with reference to the amount of information which it contains. As a piece of writing we mean not to speak of it. The style is not what we like. An immense quantity of words to express a very simple thought, and a most studiously grotesque imagery,—that is, the comparison of one thing with some other the most dissimilar possible,—are defects which weary one when encumbering two volumes. We may be

amused for once; but simplicity and naturalness can alone carry us through a long string of trifles, and make us interested in adventures of an every-day and every-hour character.

Indeed we always observe that these *outside* travellers have an irresistible impulse to make out adventures from incidents, which those who do not keep journals would never dream of. If one read their narratives (otherwise, that is, than as *travellers'* accounts), one would indeed be warranted in concluding that the public is most ungracious and most ungrateful, in its estimation of their services. To think that Mr. Dickens exposed himself to such terrible dangers as those of twice crossing the Atlantic, of being frequently blown up in high-pressure boats, of being tumbled over precipices on the Alleghany mountains, or of being swallowed up in the quagmires of a Virginian road, not from any ambitious views, or for the sake of traffic, or to procure a settlement in the back woods, nor yet from any thirst of knowledge, nor for any other flighty aim, but simply and expressly for the amusement of his English readers: to see how Mrs. Trollope consented to encounter terrible perils on the roads to that unknown part of the world, Vallombrosa; (by the bye she is not the *first* lady nor the hundredth we suspect that has got up there); how she could allow herself to be almost broiled alive among the Appenines, or fatigued to death in the desperate attempt to ascend the portico of our Lady's Church at Bologna, or almost drowned in crossing the Po in the public ferry-boat; or, still more, risk to be buried in a snow-drift on Mont Cenis, in the unheard-of enterprise of crossing it, when the couriers could do so; and all this in order to write a book for our entertainment:—one cannot but feel that such heroic devotion—not for our interest or good, but for our very idlest amusement—deserves a public crown, or some other attestation of our generous sensibilities. And this feeling ought surely to be enhanced by the consideration, of how, not magnanimously only, but light-heartedly, nay, how thoughtfully of us, such perils were encountered! For if the storms which Mr. Dickens suffered on his outward passage were such as he describes, if the conflict of the elements was so terrific, the writhings and convulsions of the frail bark so like those of a mortal agony as he represents them—perhaps over the silent grave of the hapless "President," itself a catacomb below the waters, one cannot but admire—though unenvious—the thoughts which could be occupied, at such a time, in dressing out its horrors in a playful garb, and which

could see, for our sakes, "who sit at home at ease," nothing but the ludicrous and the laughable in its dismal circumstances. And so likewise one is necessarily led to admiration of the lady's taking care to be "not wholly insensible to the strange magnificence of the scene," while she was "seriously frightened" (ii. p. 394), and noting down all the terrible adventures of the awful passage over the mountain; although, strange to say, our alarm, having been greatly excited, on reading that it was the heaviest fall of snow known for years, "and that the conductor looked sadly pale," and the *cantonniers* refused to say that the road was safe, and uttered mysterious hints about avalanches, and how she heard not a sound while this "race of giants," these "friendly monsters" (the scene is in *Italy*), "set to work" with their "enormous wooden spades," and shovelled our adventurous traveller out of her difficulties, we were much relieved, and brought down to our ordinary scale of nervous tension, on finding, at the end of the narrative, that all the way soldiers were quietly marching on the road, which we had thought almost impassable for horses and sledges, aided by an escort of gentle giants! "Poor fellows!" exclaims our traveller, speaking of the soldiers: "They looked miserable enough! Yet I felt, as I watched them, that they probably felt much more at their ease than I did."—(p. 395). No doubt they did—they were not going to publish their travels. In fact, this sort of "romance of travel" is very much cut up by one's knowing that every year, A. and B. and C. have gone just over the same ground, or the same water, or the same snow, and yet have met nothing particular in the way of adventure, but have had a mere ordinary guide-book journey; little thinking how much might have been made of a puff of wind, or a fall of snow, or deep ruts, or—a powerful imagination, in dishing up their tour, had they been so disposed, for the public.

We know not whether Mr. Dickens will follow Mrs. Trollope from America to Italy: they have served their travelling apprenticeship in the same country, but we hope the ill success of the one, in her further prosecution of the business, will deter the other from continuing it. Before, however, taking leave of Mr. Dickens, with what probably is the extent of acknowledgment which he expects from his readers, that we have been, if not instructed, at least amused by his book, we must express feelings of the most decidedly opposite character, regarding one passage of his work, which is a dark foul blot upon it, an odious contradiction to the

general humane and good-natured tone of this, as of his other writings. The passage to which we allude is the following:—

“Looming in the distance, as we rode along, was another of the ancient Indian burial places, called the Monk’s Mound; in memory of a body of fanatics, of the order of La Trappe, who founded a desolate convent there, many years ago, when there were no settlers within a thousand miles, and were all swept off by the pernicious climate: in which lamentable fatality few rational people will suppose, perhaps, that society experienced any very severe deprivation.”—vol. ii. p. 139.

And again:—

“In due time we mustered once again before the merchant-tailor’s, and, having done so, crossed over to the city in the ferry-boat: passing, on the way, a spot called Bloody Island, the duelling ground of St. Louis, and so designated in honour of the last fatal combat fought there, which was with pistols, breast to breast. Both combatants fell dead upon the ground; and, possibly, some rational people may think of them, as of the gloomy madmen on Monk’s Mound, that they were no great loss to the community.”—p. 140.

So that, in Mr. Dickens’s estimation, there is little difference between the ruffian, who murdering is murdered, and the inoffensive recluse who is willing to act as the pioneer of civilization, and devotedly throws himself forward, as the forlorn hope of an advancing colony. Whatever Mr. Dickens’s notions may be about “lazy monks,” &c., he knows, or ought to know, that the Cistercian, or Trappist order, is essentially an agricultural one; it consists, in fact, of a monastic peasantry, who differ from the ordinary cultivators of the soil, not by less diligence or intelligence, but by their expecting no profit; by their selecting always those very spots from which money-seeking enterprise would turn away in disdain; by their ever feeding the poor around them, and receiving hospitably every stranger; and, in fine, by their sanctifying the labour of their hands by prayer and sacred psalmody.* For the “merchant-tailor,” who sets up his watch-box on the edge of a noisome morass, Mr. Dickens has not a word of reprobation; for the settlers who go, axe in hand, into the backwoods, and clear them, in order to make a fortune, he has no hard words; but for the representatives of those who, by

* The French government is at this moment sending out a community of Trappists into Algeria, as the best way of establishing an agricultural colony. The Sardinian government has taken a similar step in regard to the island of Sardinia.

patient toil, made Crowland from a fen become a garden; who are now, with thankless labour, driving the plough into the granite ribs of the Charnwood forest, he has no better name than "fanatics,"—no more sympathy or regrets, than for the double murderer! In humanity's name, let Mr. Dickens never again write anything but fiction. In *that*, at least, he shews he has better feelings.

But now let us return over the Atlantic, and follow Mrs. Trollope over the beauties of Italy. We never read a work which, professing to be gossip, seemed to us to be more an effort than her's. She has, as we before remarked, chosen the beaten track; and yet she always wants to say something new on it. The moment she gets before a statue or a picture—a hundred times described—her mind seems thrown into a working fermentation, out of which issues a world of frothy crudities, generally composed either of exaggerated amazements or of unexpected disappointments. She owns herself ignorant—very ignorant; her senses are quite bewildered; she trembles, or shudders, or weeps, before the production of art; and words heaped together in every ejaculatory variety of phrase, are all that we, at a distance, can get for our sympathy.

Now, were Mrs. Trollope's peculiar mode of seeing and describing confined to such objects as the Medicean goddess (which, in a manner that to us sounds profane, she compares with a representation of the purest and holiest of Eve's daughters—vol. i. p. 160), we should never have thought it worth while speaking so severely. But when we find her carrying her light and supercilious observations into more sacred ground, and talking of the religion which forms our happiness, at once with ignorance and with flippancy, we must not allow ourselves the pleasure of being lenient, but must speak out plain.

Thus she writes of the sacred temples of the living God:—*"The pleasantest morning lounges now are the churches; for there, comparatively speaking, the air is cool; and it is possible, when you can stand no longer, to sit down, which is not the case at the Medicean gallery."* (Ibid. p. 204.) Again; describing a pic-nic party to the convent of St. Gallicano, she tells us of one young lady who retreated into the church for shade "with such an air of lovely, languid gentleness, that, could the remote shrine have ever possessed *such an image*, a vast deal of pilgrim idolatry must have been the consequence" (what follows is too gross for our pages); when "two of the cavaliers entering the church after her, the one bearing in his

hand a bottle of wine, the other furnished with a crystal cup, sparkling half-way to the brim with the precious treasure of the rocky spring; but ere the tempting draught was mingled and tasted, murmurs anent '*desecration of the church*' made themselves heard from the lips of some stray brother of the much reduced society, who had seen the somewhat unusual entry of the gentlemen: but an immediate retreat perfectly satisfied the good monk."—(p. 325.) Such is her idea, and such her feelings, about a bacchanalian party trying to make a *cabaret* of the place in which, those whose property they sacrilegiously invaded, believed that the Holy of holies and the Lord of lords corporally resides! This is the way in which the most sacred feelings of those meek men are outraged and trampled on. Now if the two gentlemen had been put into the stocks, or the whole party driven down the hill again by a few sturdy peasants, they would not have got more than they deserved. And yet Mrs. Trollope is severe—and we thank her sincerely for *that* part of her work—upon our countrymen who so shamefully misbehave in the Roman churches. Is such behaviour wonderful, when its very censurer seems to think so little of the house of God?

In the same tone does she ever speak of our holiest functions. First, she evidently knows nothing about them: she acknowledges herself unable to appreciate the splendid music of Palestrina.—(p. 270.) The matter which seems to have most engaged her attention, in the majestic services of the papal chapel, was the homage of the cardinals. Twice she speaks feelingly on the subject. Thus, of the Sistine chapel she says: "I cannot say that I was greatly edified by the peculiar ceremonies of this papal worship (I speak as a heretic), but I could not admire or approve the disproportion which seemed to exist between the time bestowed on prayer, and that devoted to the homage offered by each cardinal to the pope."—(p. 270.) And of the high mass on Christmas Day, she makes a similar remark: "The religious part of the ceremony," she writes, "bears no proportion to it" (the homage—p. 365.) What on earth she means we are at a loss to comprehend. If the pontifical mass at St. Peter's lasts two hours, the homage does not occupy above ten minutes, during which the solemn function is *not* interrupted. But manifestly she does not know what the mass is, nor what prayers are recited in it, nor what is the meaning of its ceremonial.

But, besides not knowing any thing on the subject whereon she writes, Mrs. Trollope is too manifestly unable to appreciate

any religious function. It is not in her way. She can understand a drive in the Cascina at Florence, or eating "ices and strawberries,"—quite a standing dish with her,—or going to a concert or a theatre; but as to the truly picturesque, venerable, moving and holy offices of the Church she has certainly no sort of feeling. Mass is to her a musical performance; and her judgments pronounced on it are whether it was long or short, and the music good or bad—that is, according to *her* taste.

As to the Papal government and the practical morality of the Catholic Church, all she knows is, that she utterly condemns them. No one can doubt that she was perfectly capable of judging on such subjects, and that she took great pains to collect information on them, when we see how well she understood what was passing about her, and what every body knows. Thus, she found out that "the reverend court of cardinals" is "called the *Propaganda*" (p. 274), and that cardinals are not paid up their salaries on account of "the poverty of the *Propaganda* coffers" (p. 367.) And as to cardinals, she makes them at pleasure; for she transforms, by the stroke of her pen, the good Trappist monk, father Géramb, into one (p. 368), and tells us, most satisfactorily, that among several new cardinals about to be made was "an English gentleman of the name of Weld," (p. 366); that said "gentleman" having already been cardinal, and having departed several years before, to receive, we trust, the full reward of a most virtuous life. And so, with equal felicity, she elevates the learned principal of the English college to the episcopal rank. (p. 300.) But further, Mrs. Trollope has given us the new and important information that "many Roman families have hereditary rank of bishop in the Church." (p. 366.)

Now, while a person can blunder in matters so palpable and easy to ascertain, it is *not* wonderful that she should slashingly cut to pieces that of which she *could* know nothing. She talks of the ignorance of the people with whom she manifestly never conversed, and of the workings of a system, religious and political, which she certainly never investigated. On her way from Rome to Naples, she, shut up in a carriage, and hurrying on from stage to stage, could see "ignorance and superstition as prominent features that meet the observation of the traveller." (p. 203.) Really! how does this ignorance so clearly show itself? Is it in the faces of the people, or on their sign-boards, that "they who run may read it?"

"Of schools," she goes on, "I could hear nothing." Does Mrs. Trollope think that schools are to be kept in inn-yards for the special accommodation of lady travellers? Or did she look out for "National School" on the front of some house, and was disappointed in her search? Now we can tell Mrs. Trollope that she did not pass through a single village (she is speaking of the Papal States beyond Rome) in which there are not a boys' and girls' school, aye, and gratuitous ones too. But on this subject of education she gives us the portentous intelligence, that the pope has abolished at Bologna, and in all his dominions, all "professorships of logic, metaphysics, *morals* (!), algebra, and geometry" (p. 28.) And then, after some mysterious points, she adds, "It was from Bologna that professor Orioli was banished." One would really imagine that this demigod (for some such thing he appears in the first volume) had been *banished* for teaching some of these dark sciences, perhaps *morals*! But Signor Orioli was *not* banished, but most patriotically ran away from Bologna, after having excited his scholars to sedition and rebellion, raised a revolution which brought down misery on his country, formed, we believe, part of its provisional government, and when the hour of peril arrived, acted on the philosophical principle, that the better part of valour is discretion, and disappeared. One thing this worthy junta took care not to leave behind them—the public chest. Such are Mrs. Trollope's favourites in Italy; for while she is a thorough enemy to revolutionary and *sans culotte* movements and parties in England, she worships them in Italy.

Her theories on religious matters are extremely profound. Thus the "idleness" of the Italians is owing to the "eternal recurrence of Popish fêtes and festivals" (p. 203), on which subject we would recommend her to consult Lord John Manners: and the splendid churches of Venice are not to be wondered at, because "it is natural to expect, that in a Roman Catholic country, where numerous incentives to the love of pleasure are led on by the possession of abounding gold, churches should be built, enriched, and beautified, to atone for the irregularities so produced." (p. 121.) In which theory, we presume that it is the "atonement" that one must consider peculiarly Catholic, not the "love of pleasure" or "the gold:" otherwise London or America ought to have the best churches.

But truly never did writer or traveller stuff his or her pages with strange mistakes more fully than our learned lady.

Scarcely an Italian word or name is spelled right, scarcely a phrase given (save in quotations) is correct, yet she tells us long and brilliant conversations which she must have held in Italian. She wonders why the *campagna* is not made to produce corn (p. 193): and it so happens that it does, not only to fill the granaries of Rome, but to export it to other countries. She looks for the Clitumnus at Spoleto, (not *Spolito*), and marvellous to say, she finds it without a drop of water; (p. 171), for the very good reason that the Clitumnus never was, nor will be, at Spoleto. It was full of water when Mrs. T. drove for at least two miles along its banks, and she might have seen it gush out in full stream from under the road, able in its cradle to turn a mill near the village of Le Vene. In her ecclesiastical history she is "sadly to seek." She tells us she was "grilled like St. Anthony" (vol. i. p. 45), scarcely more accurately than elegantly: she has never heard of our Lady's "presentation in the temple," and therefore transforms Titian's splendid painting of the subject at Venice into our Saviour's presentation "at the age of eleven or twelve" (!) and corrects Mrs. Starke's right explanation of it. (p. 103.) And when she visits the venerable basilica of St. Ambrose, at Milan, she is shown, she tells us, a relic of "the brother of St. Satyrus. Why the bedstead," she adds, "of a saint's brother should be held in such veneration, we were not informed." (p. 384.) Truly not: because you were told no such thing as you tell us. The better informed reader will smile as he sees through the mistake, arising, no doubt, from imperfectly understanding the guide. St. Satyrus was the brother of St. Ambrose, and St. Marcellina, about whom Mrs. T. is equally in the dark, was the sister of both. Among the curiosities of this church, she stumbled upon a very extraordinary one—a coffin! And whose does the reader think it was? for it was "in a dark and obscure little chapel." Why the guide, looking at Mrs. Trollope, "said with a sort of jeering smile, 'it is *only* the body of Monsignore the bishop, who died yesterday, and will be buried to-morrow.'" (p. 385.) See how cheap these good papists of Milan hold their bishop! However, as his eminence Cardinal Gaysruck still occupies, as he did long before Mrs. Trollope's visit to Italy, the archiepiscopal throne of that city, we will not puzzle ourselves or our readers with inquiring, either how he got into that coffin the day before, or how he got out again the day after, Mrs. Trollope's visit to the church. We will rather lay this to the score of some little misunderstanding.

With such abundant data in her mind for rightly judging of the Catholic religion, we must be greatly beholden to our lady authoress for so kind a judgment as the following.

"I was left to decide for myself, whether it is not possible for a person of perfectly enlightened views in politics to be still a faithful Roman Catholic. I have heard many people, and of more nations than one, deny the possibility of this; and declare that freedom of mind, on any subject, was perfectly incompatible with Popish restraint; but I doubt the truth of this doctrine. I see no reason why a Roman Catholic, because he conscientiously believes the creed that has been taught him, should therefore be incapable of forming a rational opinion upon the wisest manner of regulating the affairs of men."—vol. ii. p. 302.

Truly this is consoling—nay more, it is flattering; and the spirits of such men as Bossuet, Stolberg, Fenelon, and Schlegel, may well be soothed by the doubt, which Mrs. Trollope entertains, whether they *were* really incapable of forming rational judgments.

But we must really draw to a close: for we are tired with plucking and arranging flowers, where the whole ground is so rich. Mrs. Trollope herself solves a problem which seems much to puzzle her; the difficulty of getting hold of Italians. Wherever she goes, she meets plenty of English, French and Germans—but no Italians. (vol. i. p. 154.) She finds them at Venice quite exclusive. She hopes for them at Rome, but somehow or other they do not come. Yet she courts them, she wants them; and, moreover, she is surrounded by them, she is in the midst of them, night after night, at "Donay's" coffee house, and at the Cascina; but in vain. Is it wonderful? Mrs. Trollope did not know, perhaps, that they have had enough of note-takers and book-makers among them, from our country, to stand in dread of any more. They *have* admitted English ladies into their society, who have violated the holy laws of hospitality, and have held up to contempt the good-natured people who have been civil to them. Whether Mrs. Trollope's American reputation may have helped her in this matter or no, we cannot pretend to say—we should doubt whether her name is much known in Italy. But burnt children dread the fire, or, as the Italian proverb better expresses it for our purposes; "the scalded man dreads even cold water." English people have been excluded from true Italian society on account of the liberties which some of them have taken with its reputation. Mrs. Trollope's work shows that in her case they were right. She has con-

trived to malign their religion and their country with the help of the scanty and blundering materials which she has collected; what would she have done if she could have got at more?

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

WE regret that from the illness of the Editor, and other circumstances, our notices of new books are unavoidably shortened; many agreeable works which we had intended to have made more particularly known to our readers, and some whose importance required a comment, we are obliged to pass shortly over for the present, not without a hope that in some way or other we may come across them again. The first volume of Mr. O'Connell's *Memoir on Ireland*, Native and Saxon, we have just received. It brings down the history to the time of Cromwell, and is so far a record of his country's woes, —a summary of her wrongs—a solemn protest against England's dealings towards her, made in the face of the whole world. Those who know Mr. O'Connell will not doubt that it is penned in words of bitterness and burning energy. Here are set down, with lucid force, all those wrongs upon which his mind has dwelt so long with passionate emotion; burning alternately with resentment, or melted by compassion; ever labouring to obtain redress. If there are any who, in considering the career of perhaps the most single-minded and earnest patriot that ever existed, can turn in fastidious disgust from some bitter jibes or bursts of uncourtly scorn, let him seek here their justification. Such a work as this cannot fail to make a deep impression,—of what nature we cannot now determine; but we do know that both nations might derive a moral from it: that for England is obvious. Let her, in this matter, disclaim the deeds and spirit of her forefathers, lest their sins should be visited upon her: but to Ireland also, as a religious nation, we may venture to say, that if those are "blessed who suffer persecution for justice' sake," it is when those sufferings are sanctified by the Christian spirit of forgiveness.

The *Life of the Princess Borghese*, by A. Zeloni, is a slight memorial of a being, too bright and holy to be enshrined only in the affections of those who knew her, or had benefitted by her charity—however numerous the circle might be; as such we welcome it, although we could have wished the task had been undertaken by hands, in some respects, more competent. There is a thoroughly French confusion of English names, both of persons and places; and we suspect some mistakes, as well as omissions, in the narrative. Still even this slight sketch of so admirable a life

—so bright a pattern of female excellence—is valuable. Wealth, station, rank, talent, and youthful beauty ; all that can be considered snares, became in the Princess Borghese the mere handmaids and ornaments of holiness : all that the world covets as happy or desirable she possessed but to lay it at the feet of her God, and to use it in His service. Can there a more inspiring or beautiful model be held up in the eyes of her own sex, or, to the world in general, a stronger proof of the efficacy of our holy religion ?

We have received, from the Right Reverend Bishop Gillis, an account of the proceedings and speeches of the first annual festival of the “Holy Gild of St. Joseph, and of St. Andrew’s mortuary Gild,” now happily established at Edinburgh. We rejoice in the institution of these Holy Gilds, and hail with thankfulness every addition to their number. It is impossible to calculate all the good they may do ;—all the wise and excellent purposes to which they may hereafter be turned ; but many of their advantages are obvious : they will give unity, combination, brotherly feeling, to the Catholics, without the dangerous excitement of politics ; they form an attractive spectacle to Protestants ; but, *above all*, they afford to the clergy an admirable instrument for improving the temporal condition of the poor. Who can read the statistical details (of which this volume contains many) of their squalor, want, disease, and hopeless neglect, without seeing how much the best efforts to bring them to a value for, and understanding of, spiritual things must be impeded ? We have wished for the time when our clergy should be enabled to take their wonted lead as guardians and protectors of the poor in this world, as well as in the concerns of the next, and we see in these societies the forerunners of that period. The Holy Gild of St. Joseph has for one of its main objects to attach the poor to their homes ; and they propose to give prizes of useful household articles for the tidiest and cleanest dwellings. We have heard from authentic information that it is intended to purchase, for the objects of the society, a portion of land now covered with the filthiest dwellings in Edinburgh, and to convert them into suitable abodes for those poor, who have entitled themselves to such a reward by their orderly conduct. This charity would not only be most useful, but would bring in such a profit as to ensure its self-maintenance ; since there is no doubt, that in all large towns the poor pay, for the most uninhabitable dens, such a rent as ought to procure decent dwellings for them, and might do so in any hands but those of the usurers, who now have them at their mercy.

We have enjoyed again the racy fun and hearty animal spirits, if we may so express it, of *Jack Hinton*, in his collective form ; enjoyed it so much, indeed, that we are sorry to have to find fault, and that too with one of the most amusing personages of the book ; we mean the inimitable Father Tom. It would be absurd to inquire very minutely into the principles of so lively a writer ; but he, and some

others of his class, should learn that the clergy are not proper subjects for their wild wit. Dashing caricaturists they are of the reckless, frolicsome, excitement of Irish life and manners, and we have no purpose to quarrel with what so thoroughly amuses us ; but our laughter ceases, or becomes blamable, when an attempt is made to bring the priesthood down to the same moral level, and to invest them with qualities, to *them*, at least, highly derogatory. It is no new remark, that the greater the talent the more harm may be done ; and so fashionable has this exercise of talent become of late, that we purpose, at an early opportunity, to point out not only the mischievous tendency, but the utter falsehood of the pictures so drawn. This, indeed, to those who know any thing of human nature under the influence of religious principles, will be self-evident : would a priest who had just seen with indifference, nay sanctioned, a murderous duel, have prayed with untiring fervour of charity by the bedside of the departed sinner ; would he, nay *could* he, have done so ?

The Commissioner, or De Lunatico Inquirendo is by an anonymous author, but one who we suspect will not continue so ; for there is enough of variety and talent in his book to furnish forth a dozen novels ; now and then the story verges upon extravagance, and certainly the author is such a tory as made our hair stand on end—we had not thought such a specimen of the race existed now-a-days ! But it is a racy, original, and forcible work, full of entertainment, and we should be glad in the present dearth of good novels to meet with another by the same writer.

We have a few school books on our list ; the first which we shall mention is a *Modern Geography*, by the Christian Brothers. No one can doubt that a work compiled by these venerable instructors of youth must be both edifying and practical ; it is more,—it is a little library of useful and amusing information, just such a work as we should select to put into the hands of an intelligent child, who had few books ; nor have we ever met with any thing in the nature of a lesson book which was more likely to excite curiosity and to give it a good direction. For the mere purpose of teaching geography, we should be inclined to prefer a drier work, more strictly a catalogue of names and facts, such as a child might commit to memory, who, upon other points, was receiving plenty of instruction.

The Juvenile Companion to the Atlas is a very useful book of this kind ; it is less difficult than that used by the Students of the London University, and to the geography of every nation is attached a very useful table of the dates of the principal epochs in its history.

The Pictorial Spelling Book, published by Mr. Virtue, is remarkably comprehensive, well arranged, and ornamented with such pretty illustrations, that there might be some danger that the lesson might never get learned. We have seen this spelling book seized

upon with great delight by children and their teachers from amongst many of greater pretensions.

The *Canadian Scenery* is complete. It forms two thick volumes of Landscapes, every plate a gem, and that at a cost so moderate, that we think no one will refrain from buying it, who can appreciate fine engraving, is curious in observing the characteristic features of different countries, or desirous of ornamenting a library table.

Before concluding, we should wish to draw the attention of the Catholic public to the announcement of a complete edition of the *Fathers*, to be edited by Mr. Wackerberth, and also to Mr. Turnbull's *Monasticon Scotticanum*; both will be valuable and important works; but Mr. Bohn's *Bibliotheca Patristica et Scholastica* is one of such magnitude, and may have such immense results, that we cannot but especially wish it success.

The splendid work announced to the public by M. St. Priest, must speak for itself, recommended as it is by some of the highest literary names.

We take this opportunity of returning our best thanks, long due, to the Editor of the *Australasian Chronicle*, who has for some time favoured us with his excellent journal; we recommend it to such of our readers as are curious in colonial matters,—and we should think there were few who from one cause or another were not so. With fewer advantages, the *Australasian Chronicle* is equal in talent to any of our Provincial papers. It advocates sound views of Colonial policy, and contains abundance of news both of Australia and New Zealand, and sometimes curious scraps of information from their neighbours the Chinese. The mere list of its advertisements throws light upon the commercial affairs of the Colony. In spirit, it is most Catholic, and its pages are a faithful record of the perils, and struggles, and progress of the Catholic cause.

APPENDIX.

THE following interesting document, from the pen of the Rev. J. H. Newman of Oxford, not having appeared in any Catholic periodical, we think it our duty to record it in our *Review*, which has endeavoured to follow the progress of the Oxford movement:—

“It is true that I have at various times, in writing against the Roman system, used, not merely arguments, about which I am not here speaking, but what reads like declamation.

1. For instance, in 1833, in the *Lyra Apostolica*, I called it a “lost Church.”

2. Also, in 1833, I spoke of “the Papal Apostacy,” in a work upon the Arians.

3. In the same year, in No. 15 of the series called the "*Tracts for the Times*," in which tract the words are often mine, though I cannot claim it as a whole, I say :—

"True, Rome is heretical now—nay, grant she has thereby forfeited her orders ; yet, at least, she was not heretical in the primitive ages. If she has apostatised, it was at the time of the Council of Trent. Then, indeed, it is to be feared the whole Roman Communion bound itself, by a perpetual bond and covenant, to the cause of Antichrist."

Of this and other tracts, a friend, with whom I was on very familiar terms, observed, in a letter some time afterwards, though not of this particular part of it :—

"It is very encouraging about the tracts ; but I wish I could prevail on you, when the second edition comes out, to cancel or materially alter several. The other day accidentally put in my way the tract on the 'Apostolical Succession in the English Church,' and it really does seem so very unfair, that I wonder you could, even in the extremity of *οικονομία* and *φειλακισμός*, have consented to be a party to it."

On the passage above quoted, I observe myself, in a pamphlet published in 1838 :—

"I confess I wish this passage were not cast in so declamatory a form ; but the substance of it expresses just what I mean."

4. Also, in 1833, I said :—

"Their communion is infected with heresy ; we are bound to flee it as a pestilence. They have established a lie in the place of God's truth, and, by their claim of immutability in doctrine, cannot undo the sin they have committed."—*Tract 20*.

5. In 1834, I said, in a magazine :—

"The spirit of old Rome has risen again in its former place, and has evidenced its identity by its works. It has possessed the church there planted, as an evil spirit might seize the demoniacs of primitive times, and makes her speak words which are not her own. In the corrupt Papal system we have the very cruelty, the craft, and the ambition of the Republic ; its cruelty in the unsparing sacrifice of the happiness and virtue of individuals to a phantom of public expediency, in its forced celibacy within, and its persecutions without ; its craft in its falsehoods, its deceitful deeds and lying wonders ; and its grasping ambition in the very structure of its polity, in its assumption of universal dominion : old Rome is still alive ; no where have its eagles lighted, but it still claims the sovereignty under another pretence. The Roman Church I will not blame, but pity : she is, as I have said, spell-bound, as if by an evil spirit ; she is in thralldom."

I say, in the same paper—

"In the book of Revelations, the sorceress upon the seven hills is not the Church of Rome, as is often taken for granted, but Rome

itself, that bad spirit which, in its former shape, was the animating principle of the fourth monarchy. In St. Paul's prophecy, it is not the Temple or Church of God, but the man of sin in the Temple, the old man, or evil principle of the flesh, which exalteth itself against God. Certainly it is a mystery of iniquity, and one which may well excite our dismay and horror, that in the very heart of the Church, in her highest dignity, in the seat of St. Peter, the evil principle has throned itself, and rules. It seems as if that spirit had gained subtlety by years; Popish Rome has succeeded to Rome Pagan: and would that we had no reason to expect still more crafty developments of Antichrist amid the wreck of institutions and establishments which will attend the fall of the Papacy! I deny that the distinction is unmeaning. Is it nothing to be able to look on our mother, to whom we owe the blessing of Christianity, with affection instead of hatred, with pity indeed, nay and fear, but not with horror? Is it nothing to rescue her from the hard names which interpreters of prophecy have put on her, as an idolatress and an enemy of God, when she is deceived rather than a deceiver?"

I also say—

"She virtually substitutes an external ritual for moral obedience; penance for penitence, confession for sorrow, profession for faith, the lips for the heart; such at least is her system as understood by the many."

Also I say, in the same paper—

"Rome has robbed us of high principles which she has retained herself, though in a corrupt state. When we left her, she suffered us not to go in the beauty of holiness; we left our garments and fled."

Against these, and other passages of this paper, the same friend, before it was published, made the following protest:—

"I only except from this general approbation, your second and most superfluous hit at the poor Romanists; you have first set them down as demoniacally possessed by the evil genius of Pagan Rome, but notwithstanding, are able to find something to admire in their spirit, particularly because they apply ornament to its proper purposes: and then you talk of their Churches, and all that is very well, and one hopes one has heard the end of name-calling, when all at once you relapse into your Protestantism, and deal in what I take leave to call slang."

Then, after a remark which is not to the purpose of these extracts, he adds—

"I do not believe that any Roman Catholic of education would tell you that he identified penitence and penance. In fact I know that they very often preach against this very error as well as you could do."

6. In 1834 I also used of certain doctrines of the Church of Rome, the epithets "unscriptural," "profane," "impious," "bold,"

"unwarranted," "blasphemous," "gross," "monstrous," "cruel," "administering deceitful comfort," and "unauthorised," in *Tract* 38. I do not mean to say that I had not a definite meaning in every one of these epithets, or that I did not weigh them before I used them.

With reference to this passage the same monitor had said—

"I must enter another protest against your cursing and swearing at the end of the first *Via Media* as you do. (*Tract* 38.) What good can it do? I call it uncharitable to an excess. How mistaken we may ourselves be on many points that are only gradually opening on us!"

I withdrew the whole passage several years ago.}

7. I said in 1837 of the Church of Rome.—

"In truth she is a Church beside herself, abounding in noble gifts and rightful titles, but unable to use them religiously; crafty, obstinate, wilful, malicious, cruel, unnatural, as madmen are. Or, rather, she may be said to resemble a demoniac, possessed with principles, thoughts, and tendencies not her own, in outward form and in outward powers what God made her; but ruled within by an inexorable spirit, who is sovereign in his management over her, and most subtle and most successful in the use of her gifts. Thus, she is her real self only in name, and till God vouchsafe to restore her, we must treat her as if she were that evil one which governs her.

8. In 1837, I said also in a review—

"The second and third Gregories appealed to the people against the emperor for a most unjustifiable object, and in, apparently, a most unjustifiable way. They became rebels to establish image worship. However, even in this transaction, we trace the original principle of Church power, though miserably defaced and perverted, whose form

'Had yet not lost

All her original brightness, nor appeared
Less than Archangel ruined and the excess
Of glory obscured."

Upon the same basis, as is notorious, was built the ecclesiastical monarchy. It was not the breath of princes, or the smiles of a court, which fostered the stern and lofty spirit of Hildebrand and Innocent. It was the neglect of self, the renunciation of worldly pomp and ease, the appeal to the people."

I must observe, however, upon this passage, that no reference is made in it (the idea is shocking) to the subject of Milton's lines, who ill answers to the idea of purity and virtue defaced, of which they speak. An application is made of them to a subject which I considered, when I so wrote, to befit them better, viz., the Roman Church, as viewed in a certain exercise of her power in the person of two Popes.

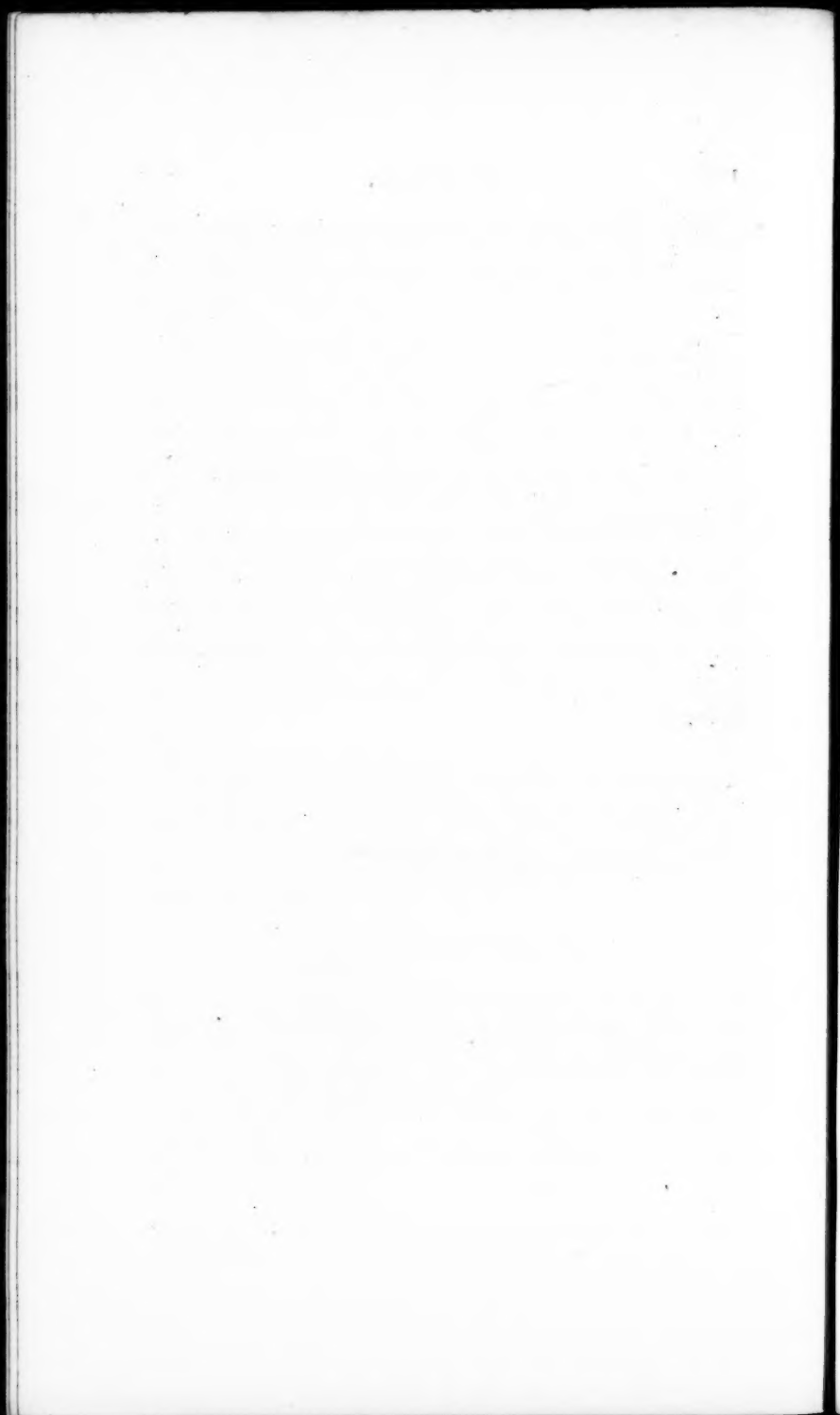
Perhaps I have made other statements in a similar tone, and that, again, when the statements themselves were unexceptionable and true. If you ask me how an individual could venture, not simply to hold, but to publish such views of a communion so ancient, so wide spreading, so fruitful in saints, I answer, that I said to myself, "I am not speaking my own words, I am but following almost a *consensus* of the divines of my Church. They have ever used the strongest language against Rome, even the most able and learned of them. I wish to throw myself into their system. While I say what they say, I am safe. Such views, too, are necessary for our position." Yet I have reason to fear still, that such language is to be ascribed, in no small measure, to an impetuous temper, a hope of approving myself to persons I respect, and a wish to repel the charge of Romanism.

An admission of this kind involves no retraction of what I have written in defence of Anglican doctrine. And as I make it for personal reasons, I make it without consulting others. I am as fully convinced as ever, indeed I doubt not Roman Catholics themselves would confess, that the Anglican doctrine is the strongest, nay, the only possible antagonist of their system. If Rome is to be withstood it can be done in no other way.

December 12, 1842.

ERRATUM.

Page 184, 2nd line of *note*, for *prove*, read "*refute*."



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